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NARENDRA NATH LAW

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Geographical Data in Pāṇini ... By Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D.	1
Buddhism and Vedānta ... By Bratindra Kumar Sengupta, M.A.	35
Social Reforms of Akbar ... By Prof. S. K. Banerjee, M.A.	50
Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa By Sibadas Chudhuri	56
 Miscellany	
On some recent discussions relating to Ancient Indian Political Ideas ... By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.	64
Harya's Accession and Era ... By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.	72
The Ancient Mālavas: Some New Royal Names By M. Venkataramayya, M.A., M.Litt.	80
Jivadāman-Rudrasiṃha Problem Reviewed By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, M.A.	84
The Conquest of Gopādrī by the Kacchapaghātas By Sisir Kumar Mitra, M.A.	88
Select Contents of Oriental Journals ...	94

CONTENTS

	Page
Position of Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī	
Documents from Chinese Turkestan	97
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A.	
Abhidharmakośakārikā (I. 1-8)	111
By Prof. N. Aiyaswami Sastri	
Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa	121
By Sivadas Chaudhuri	
Appointment of Ministers and High Officials in Ancient	
India	129
By Kunja Govinda Goswami, M.A.	
Mss. of the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra—their linguistic	
peculiarities	133
By Prof. N. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.	
The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa	148
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.	
The Later Imperial Guptas	156
By Dr. Sudhakar Caattopadhyaya, M.A., Ph.D.	
The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra	162
By Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.	
Miscellany	
Kauṭilya on Royal Authority	175
By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.	
An ancient reference to Menander's Invasion	180
By Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D.	
Was Jalāl-ud-Din the Patron of Rāyamukuta ?	183
By Prof. Dinesh Ch. Bhattacharyya, M.A.	
The Harṣa and Bhāṭika Eras	191
Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.	
Select Contents of Oriental Journals	196
Bibliographical Notes	202

CONTENTS

	Page
Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire ... By Parmeshwarī Lal Gupta, M.A.	... 205
Coin Devices on Bhita Seals ... By Adris Banerji, M.A.	... 222
The Aṣṭa-mūrti concept of Śiva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia ... By Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, M.A.	... 233
Abhidharmakośikārikā (I. 9-48) ... By Prof. N. Aiyaswami Sastri	... 242
✓ Foreign Elements in Jāmī Literature ... By Dr. Umakant Premānand Shah, M.A., Ph.D.	... 260
The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra ... By Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.	... 266
Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa ... By Sibadas Chaudhuri	... 276
Miscellany	
“Kauṭilya on Royal Authority” ✓ ... By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.	... 286
Chando-viciti—a Note ... By Suresh Chandra Banerji, M.A., D.Phil.	... 292
Notes and Queries ... By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.	... 294
A Note on the Status of the Early Candella Rulers By Sisir Kumar Mitra, M.A.	... 304
Select Contents of Oriental Journals 310

CONTENTS

	Page
Early Rulers of Mewar and their Fights with the Arabs ...	315
✓ By Prof. M. L. Mathur, M. A.	
Iconography of some Minor Deities in Jainism ...	332
By Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya, M. A.	
Form of Taxation as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents	
from Chinese Turkestan	340
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M. A.	
Ancient Popular Festivals in North-East India ...	354
By Madan Mohan Singh, M. A.	
The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra	363
By Dr Anukul Chāndra Banerjee, M. A., Ph. D.	
Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa ...	378
By Sibadas Chaudhuri	
Miscellany	
Is the Devī-bhāgavaṭa the Source of the Deogarh Relief	
of Nara-Nārāyaṇa?	387
By Dr. R. C. Hazra, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.	
The Aṣṭamāṭrkās of Mārwār	393
By R. C. Agrawala, M. A.	
An Inscription from the Patna District ...	395
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D.	
Reviews	400
Select Contents of Oriental Journals	404
Bibliographical Notes	410

The Indian Historical Quarterly

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No. 1

Geographical Data in Pāṇini

1. INTRODUCTORY

The most important contribution of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to the history of ancient India is its geographical information. The country, its mountains and ocean, forests and rivers, natural and territorial divisions (*janapadas*), towns and villages receive their full share of attention in the shape of linguistic material dealt with by Pāṇini. It is here that the grammarian can be credited with having created his material in a very real sense by undertaking a survey of the place-names in the vast area of the country stretching from Kamboja (Pamir region) and Kāpiśi (Begram in Afghanistan) to Kalinga (Orissa) and Sūramasa (Surma Valley in Assam). The question may be asked as to the *raison d'être* of the rich geographical information in a work proclaimed to deal with grammar. Place-names form an integral part of the language which it is the object of grammar to discuss and regulate. The analysis which Pāṇini has given of the underlying meanings which relate names of places to social life and its background, shows conclusively that such names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a people are intimately connected. These conditions are reflected in language in these geographical names. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country reveals to us many a forgotten chapter of history and settlement on land and the contribution that Pāṇini makes in this respect through his grammatical expositions is possessed of an abiding historical value. First he has given a list of endings of place-names by which geographical places are classified.

Most of the names of the geographical places originate, as he points out, from one or the other of the following factors :

- (1) 'this object is found in a particular place;'
- (2) 'the place was founded (*nirvṛtta*) by such and such a person;
- (3) 'the place was the abode (*nivāsa*) of such a person, or a community; and
- (4) 'the place is located in proximity (*adūrabbhava*) to a known object.'

It will thus appear that places are here distinguished for their founders, their economic products, their historical associations and their proximity to monuments. These four descriptions are termed *Cāturarthika*, 'suffixes with four-fold meaning'.

Pāṇini also instances places which have lent their names to persons as the places of their own residence (*nivāsa*), such as *Māthura*, or of their ancestors (*abbijanas*, IV.3.90), such as *Saindhava*, 'whose ancestors lived in *Sindhu*. Besides persons, commodities may also be associated with places as their origin, e.g. the wine (*phalaja madhu*) known as *Kāpīśāyana* which was known after the place of its origin called *Kāpīśi*. Animals also were called sometimes after the places of their origin, e.g. *Rāṅkava* or *Rāṅkavāyaṇa*, a bull bred in the *Raṅku* country; or *Kāccka*, the bull of *Kaccha* country (IV. 2. 134). There may also be other associations of names with places under the general rule stated in the *sūtras* IV.2.92-145 (*Śaiṣika*), e.g. *Kāśikā*, 'the work composed at *Kāśi*' (IV.2.116). An assemblage of meanings can be seen in *Kācchaka* used to denote (a) an inhabitant of *Kaccha*, (b) the turban (*cūḍā*) peculiar to its people, (c) their mannerisms in speech (*jalpita*) and laughing (*hasita*). The term *Saindhava* is also cited under this rule with reference to the above peculiarities of its people.

Another class of geographical names is that of regions or provinces (*viśaya*, IV. 2. 52-54), called after their peoples, e.g. *Śaiba*, the region of the *Śibis*; *Āprītaka*, the region of the *Āprītas* (*Afridis*); *Mālavaka*, the region of the *Mālava* people. Similarly, *Rājanyaka* (of the *Rājanya* tribe), *Traigartaka*, *Vāsātika* (of the *Vasātis*-*Ossadioi*), *Vairātaka* (*Bairat* country), *Andumbaraka*, and so forth. The names according to *viśaya* seem to be based on the ethnic distribution of

population over particular areas for the time being without reference to the form of government.

Places were also named after the nature of their polity. Thus Pāṇini divides *janapadas* into two classes, first *janapadas* under monarchy (*Ekarāja*) enumerated in *sūtras* IV. 1. 168-176; and secondly *janapadas* ruled by republics, such as *Vāhika* where flourished the *Āyudhajīvi Saṅghas* (Military Republics).

The suffixes applied to these names point to the types of government (*Tadrāja*) associated with their names.

This in short illustrates Pāṇini's scientific classification of place-names on the basis of the principles underlying their formation.

Names of rivers, forests and mountains are noticed not in connection with any social or historical significance, but as examples of linguistic peculiarity, such as vowel lengthening (VI. 3. 117-120) or cerebralisation (VIII. 4. 4-5).

Kātyāyana and Patañjali following Pāṇini add more examples to his. For instance, under *Sālvāvayava* (IV. 1. 173) Patañjali mentions the names of the states belonging to the *Sālva janapada* (*Bhāṣya* II. 269); under *sūtra* IV. 1. 172 illustrating names of countries beginning with the letter *n*, *Nicaka* and *Nīpa* (II. 269), and under the *Rājanya gaṇa*, *Vasāti*, *Devayāta*, *Bailvavana*, *Ambarīṣaputra* and *Ātmakāmeya*, which probably go back to Pāṇini himself (IV. 2. 52; II. 282).

2. COUNTRY

Geographical Horizon

Pāṇini had a wide geographical horizon. The extent of the country known to him is indicated by several landmarks mentioned in the *sūtras*. The western-most point is *Prakaṇva* corresponding to the term *Parikanioi* mentioned by Herodotus and to the modern country of Ferghana. It may be noted that Pāṇini names *Ṛṣi Prakaṇva* in *sūtra* VI. 1. 153 and from this name is derived as a corollary, as pointed out by the *Kāśikā*, that of the country called *Prakaṇva*. To the south of Ferghana lay *Kamboja* (IV. 1. 175), which as will be shown later may be identified with the region of Badkshan-Pamir. South of it lay *Kāpiśi* (IV. 2. 99), capital of the kingdom of *Kāpiśa*, which may be identified with modern Kafiristan, south-east of the Hindu Kush. South of *Kāpiśi* was situated *Gandhāra* (IV. 1. 169) comprising the valley of the Kabul river, with its frontier outpost at

Geographical Data in Pāṇini

Takṣaśilā (IV. 3. 93). Sindhu coming next in order was the region of the Sindhu-Sagar Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum. The ancient name of what is now known as Sind was Sauvīra (IV. 1. 148) which was known to Pāṇini in some detail, since rules are formulated not only for the correct designation of place-names in the Sauvīra country (IV. 2. 76), but also of *gotra* names current there (IV. 1. 150).

There are also mentioned from west to east *janapadas*, of (1) Madra (IV. 2. 131) (2) Uśinara (IV. 2. 118) (3) Kuru (IV. 1. 172) ending with (4) Bharata, called also Prācyā-Bharata as the dividing line between north (Udīcyā) and east (Prācyā) (IV. 2. 113).

Eastern India is known by its divisions called (1) Kośala (IV. 1. 171) (2) Kāśi (IV. 2. 116) (3) Magadha (IV. 1. 170) and (4) Kaliṅga (IV. 1. 170).

The eastern-most limit is indicated by the *janapada* named Sūramasa (IV. 1. 170) which was then under a monarchy, and may be identified with modern Sūrmā Valley in Assam.

Pāṇini also mentions the Himālayas as Himavat (IV. 4. 112) cited as a Chāndasa term.

On the west side the country of Kaccha is mentioned (IV. 2. 133), along with the islands of the adjoining sea (*anu-samudra dvīpa*) (IV. 3. 10).

Higher up modern Sind is mentioned under the name of Sauvīra. Pāṇini had a direct knowledge of the country as he shows acquaintance with its social life (formation of its *gotra-names*) as will be explained later.

The southern limit of his horizon is indicated by his mention of Aśmaka (IV. 1. 173) of which the capital as known from other sources was Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paṭṭhaṇ on the Godāvarī.

Divisions of the Country

Udīcyā and Prācyā are the two broad divisions of the country, mentioned by Pāṇini and these terms occur in connection with the linguistic forms known to the eastern and northern grammarians. The Udīcyā country included Gandhāra and Vāhika, the latter comprising Madra and Uśinara, and possibly Trigarta also. The Kuru region in the south-east of the Panjab was contiguous with the Bharata *janapada*. The Bharata region separated the east from the west, as shown by Pāṇini's reference to Prācyā-Bharata, on which Patañjali

remarks that the proper Prācyā country lies outside the sphere of the Bharatas (II. 4. 66; I. 493, *anyatra prāg-graṇe Bharata-graṇaṇa na bhavati*). The river Sarāvati mentioned in Pāṇini (VI. 3. 120) formed according to commentators the boundary between the two divisions of Udīcyā and Prācyā. It may probably be identified with the Sutlej (Śatadru) or Ghagghar flowing through Ambala district.

Both Udīcyā and Prācyā were taken as the home (*Loka*) of standard Sanskrit both in Pāṇini's time and earlier. In the time of Patañjali, however, this became contracted to Āryāvarta as the home of the *śiṣṭas* (persons proficient in the *śāstras*) whose language set its norm.

3. MOUNTAINS, RIVERS AND FORESTS

Pāṇini shows knowledge of the mountainous regions called Himālaya, with its perpetual snow (*himānī*, IV. 1. 49), its melting (*hima-śratha*, IV. 4. 29), its uplands (*adbityakā*) and lowlands (*upatyakā*), (V. 2. 34). The *Mahābhārata* also adds Bahirgiri, signifying the outlying region of the Tarai (Sabhāparva, 27. 3). In this connection the expressions Antargiri and Upagiri (with variant forms Antargiram and Upagiram), according to the opinion of *ācārya* Senaka, V. 4. 112, are especially noteworthy as proper names already known to the *Mahābhārata*, the former signifying Himālaya proper (Antargiri—'Heart of Himālaya'), same as Pāli Mahāhimavant or the Great Central Himālaya, including the highest peaks, such as Gaurī-śaṅkara, Nandādevī, Kedāranātha, etc., and the latter the sub-Himālayan region of low-lying peaks (Pāli Culla-Himavant) (Sabhāparva, 27.3).

Pāṇini mentions some particular hills: (1) Tri-kakut (V. 4. 147) so-called from its three peaks, a name first used in the *Atharvaveda* (cf. *Vedic Index*, vol. I. 329, identifying it with Trikota); (2) Vidūra (IV. 3. 84) as the source of the precious stone called *vaidūrya*, cat's eye, which according to Patañjali was quarried at Vālavāya and treated by lapidaries in Vidūra, probably Bidar (cf. Pargiter, *Mārk.* p. 365 for Vaidūrya as Satpura); (3) Kimśulakā-giri (VI. 3. 117) to which the *Gaṇapātha* adds five more names, viz. Sālvakāgiri, Añjanā-giri, Bhañjanāgiri, Lohitāgiri and Kukkuṭāgiri. These are not identified or met with in literature except Añjanā mentioned in the *Mārk. Purāṇa*

in Magadha, and also in a *Jātaka* passage as one of the six peaks of the Himālaya (*Dict. Pāli Proper Names*, I. 40).

The bunch of these six names appears to have been adopted by Pāṇini from some ancient geographical lists as we find compiled in the traditional *Bhuvanakōṣa* chapters. The names seem to be arranged in an order, and to represent the mountainous ranges running north to south on the western frontiers of India from Afghanistan to Baluchistan.

Starting from below, Śālvakāgiri is phonetically the name of Hālā Range lying north-south between Sind and Baluchistan. To the west of it is the Makran chain of hills, the home of the Hiṅgulā river and Hiṅgulā goddess. Hiṅgulā seems to be the Prakrit form of Kimśulakā. It was also called the Pārada country in Sanskrit literature, and *Pardene* by classical writers, corresponding to Pārdayanā of Patañjali (IV. 2. 99). Goddess Hiṅgulā of this place is of red colour, also called Dadhiparṇī, because of its association with the ancient Scythian tribes of the Dahae and Parnians. It is worshipped also as Nānī, or Nanā of antiquity.

The next great range is that of Sulaiman mountains which as the source of a famous salve was rightly celebrated as Añjanā-giri. With the other two ranges of Tōbā Kākāḍ and Shingar to the west of it, Sulaiman with its triple chain was thus rightly called Trikakut which seems to have been its original Vedic name (*Atharva.*, IV.9 8), also recorded by Pāṇini (V. 4. 147).

The next step lands us into Afghanistan. Here we have two conspicuous mountainous ranges, *viz.* one in the north-east of Kabul called Hindukush and the other to the south-west of Kabul called Koh-i-Bābā. The old name of Hindukush was Lohitāgiri (cf. *Kāśikā* on IV. 3. 91 where the military highlanders of Rohitāgiri are referred), from which Afghanistan in medieval geography was called Roha (*Linguistic Survey*, X, p. 5). In the route of Arjuna's conquest we read of Lohita with its ten tribes after Kashmir (*Sabha.*, 27. 17). This can only apply to Hindukush and its martial tribes occupying the valleys of Kohistan-Kafiristan.

Sandwiched between the Sulaiman (Trikakut) and the Hindukush (Rohitāgiri) we find a little to the west, the Koh-i-Bābā range which acts as the central watershed for the dispersal of waters to the south,

west, north and east. A glance at the map of Afghanistan points to it unmistakably. This probably was the Bhañjanā-giri.

The last name Kukkuṭā-giri seems to represent the comparatively low peaks in the west of Afghanistan towards Herat which in Iranian geography were called *Uparisaina* "The Falcon's Perch" and by the classical writers Paropamisus, with special reference to their low height.

In *sūtra* IV. 3. 91 Pāṇini mentions peoples who lived by the profession of arms and were settled in the hilly regions (*Āryudbha-jivibhyaścaḥ parvate*). It is interesting to note that these highlanders hailed from the regions named Hṛdgola etc. some of which may be identified with the highlands of Afghanistan. Hṛdgola, Andhaka-varṭta and Rohitāgiri are mentioned as names of particular hills occupied by these military Highlanders. The mention of Rohitāgiri suggests their possible identification with the mountainous tracts in Afghanistan known as Roha, still the recruiting ground of good soldiery. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the home of the Highlanders (*Parvatāśrayiṇaḥ*, 57.56) is placed in the region of Nihāra or Jalalabad (for which the *Vāyu* gives the true reading Nigarahāra; Pargiter, *Mar. P.*, p. 345). It may be added that Patañjali gives several new names of mountain-dwellers, of which Mālāvat (II. 287) is noteworthy as corresponding to Mālākanda, the mountainous district north of Dargai, home of the Dārgalas in the country south of the Swat river.

Forests

Several names of forests are mentioned in *sūtras* VIII. 4. 4-5. Of these the five names enumerated in the first *sūtra* occur also in the *Koṭarādi gaṇa* giving a list of forest names (VI. 3. 117). Of these the Puragāvaṇa seems to be connected with Pāṭaliputra as the *Gaṇarathamahādadhī* associates the Yakṣi Puragā with Pāṭaliputra (verse 291). Miśrakāvana appears to be the name of the well-known forest of Misrikh in Sitapur District. The Pāli literature, however, makes Missaka a mythical forest of the Tāvatisa heaven (*Jātaka*, VI. 278; *Dict. Pāli Proper Names*). The other names, *i.e.* Sidhraka, Sārika, Koṭara and Agra are unidentified. Similarly names like Śaravaṇa, Ikṣuvaṇa, Plakṣavaṇa, Āmravaṇa, Kārṣyavaṇa, Khadira-vaṇa and Piyūkṣāvaṇa included in *sūtra* VIII. 4. 5. are not capable of definite identification since Pāṇini takes them both as proper and common names. Some of these proper names are known in Pāli

works, and they may not have been big forests but ordinary groves of trees situated in the vicinity of big towns. For example, Khadiravana occurs in the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* as the birth-place of the teacher Revata who was the foremost of the forest recluses and called Khadiravāṇīya after the place of his birth (*Jour. Dept. Letters*, Calcutta Uni., 1920, p. 233). Similarly Śaravaṇa is said to have been a settlement in the neighbourhood of Śrāvastī, where another great teacher Gōsāla Maṅkhaliputta was born (B.C.Law, *Śrāvastī*, pp. 10-11). Āmravaṇa is said to have been attached to the city of Rājagṛha and also Kāmpilya.

Forests of herbs and big trees and those reserved for the grazing of cattle are also mentioned.

In the Devapathādi-gaṇa (V.3.100) Pāṇini refers to various kinds of routes, e.g. *vāripatha*, *sthalapatha*, *rathapatha*, *karipatha*, *ajapatha*, *śaṅkupatha*, *rājapatha*, *siṃhapatha*, adding two more, viz., *haṁsapatha* and *devapatha*, which relate to air. The *Mahāniddesa* also refers to various kinds of routes, e.g. *jaṇṇupatha* (correct reading *vaṇṇupatha* = Skt. *varṇapatha*, route through the sandy tract of Sindh-Sagar Doab, leading to Bannu); *ajapatha* (goat track), *meṇḍapatha* (ram-track), *sankupatha* (pike-track), *chattapatha* (parasol route), *vaṁsapatha* (bamboo track), *sakuṇapatha* (bird track, cf. Pāṇini *haṁsapatha*), *mūsikapatha* (mouse passage), *darīpatha* (cavern-path), and *vettacāra* (course of reed) *Mahāniddesa*, vol. I, pp. 154-55; vol. II, pp. 414-15).

The *Bṛhatkathā* describes *ajapatha* during the course of a journey to Suvarṇabhūmi as a narrow goat-track which could not be crossed by two persons from opposite sides (*Bṛhatkathā*, XVIII, 416; Sylvain Levi, 'Ptolemei La Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā', *Etudes Asiatique*, vol. II, pp. 1-55, Paris 1925). Narrow tracks leading over high mountains and defiles were crossed with the help of goats to transport merchandise.

Pāṇini's *śaṅkupatha* refers to even more difficult mountainous ascents which could be negotiated by scaling the heights with the help of spikes or nails carefully driven into the hill-side. Pāṇini's *haṁsa-patha* corresponds to *sakuṇapatha* of the *Mahāniddesa*. Kālidāsa also refers to *devapatha* (= *surapatha*), *ghanapatha* and *khagapatha* mentioned in the order of their relative heights (*Raghuvamśa*, XIII. 19). *Devapatha* originally was a track in the sky, but

in the *sūtra* under reference Pāṇini refers to *devapatha* as a technical term denoting the highest passage on the top of the rampart of a city, which derived its name from its height compared to the *deva-patha* in the sky. We are indebted to the *Arthaśāstra* for this technical meaning of *devapatha* implied in Pāṇini's *sūtra* (*Arthaśāstra*, II.3).

Rivers

On the north-west frontier Pāṇini mentions the river Suvāstu (IV.2.77, Swat). This river with its tributary the Gaurī (mod. Panjkora) flowed through Gandhāra which in its upper part was known as Uḍḍiyāna, famous for its blankets called *pāṇḍu-kambalas*, mentioned by Pāṇini. The western capital of Gandhāra was Puṣkalāvātī which is identified with modern Carsadda a little above the junction of the Swat with the Kābul river. The *Kāśikā* mentions Puṣkarāvātī as the name of a river in three *sūtras* (IV. 2. 85; VI.1.219; VI.3.119) along with certain other names as Udumbarāvātī, Vīraṇāvātī, Maśakāvātī. Of these Maśakāvātī seems to be identical with the name of the river on which Massaga or Massaka, capital of the warlike people known as the Āśvakāyana was situated. It is possible that Puṣkalāvātī and Maśakāvātī were the designations of only those particular portions of the river Swat where it flowed past by these two great towns of Gandhāra in the south and north respectively. It may be added that Patañjali mentions Udumbarāvātī, Maśakāvātī, Ikṣumatī and Drumatī definitely as being names of rivers (II.287). Of these Udumbarāvātī may have flowed through the country of the Audumbaras, and Ikṣumatī (also included in the Madhvādī group, IV.2.80) is identical with a tributary of the Ganges referred to as Oxymagis by Arrian and now known as Ikhan flowing through Farrukhābad district.

The next great river mentioned in the north-west is the Sindhu after which the country to its east was named Sindhu, the present Sind-Sagar Doab (IV.3.93). Taking its rise from the snows of western Kailāśa in Tibet, the Sindhu first flows north-west for about half of its length, and then reaching the Darad country in the north-west of Kashmīr and south of Little Pamir it takes a southward course along which lay its famous places. The geographical feature of the

Indus descending from the defiles of Dardistan is expressed in the grammatical formation *Dārādī Sindhuḥ* named after its source (*Prabhāvatī*, IV.3.23). Emerging from the Darad highlands the river enters the Gandhāra country with Swat or Uḍḍiyāna on its right and the ancient *janapada* of Uraśā (mod. Hazara in N.W.F.P.) on its left until it receives its most important western tributary the Kabul river at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock where it is at present crossed by a bridge. Ohind was the ancient Udbhāṇḍa, the place of transhipment of goods across the Sindhu and the spot where the great northern trade route called Uttarapatha in *sūtra* V.1.77 crossed the river. Pāṇini's own birthplace, Śalātura was a riparian town of the Indus situated at a distance of only about four miles from Ohind in the angle of the Kubhā and the Sindhu. About sixty miles east of Uḍbhāṇḍa was Takṣaśilā, the eastern capital of Gandhāra, and at an equal distance to the west was Puṣkalāvārī (mod. Cirsadda), its western capital. The trans-Indus country was known in ancient times as *Pāre-Sindhu* (*Sabliḥparva*, 51-11). Its famous breed of mares imported into India was called *Pāre-vadavā*, 'the mare from beyond the border' (VI.2.42). Varṇu, corresponding to Bannu on the other side of the river is mentioned in a *sūtra* and also in *Gaṇapāṭha*. The Bannu valley is drained by two rivers the Kurram (Vedic Krumu) and the Gambila or Tochi which unite and flow into the Indus. The *Kāśikā* commenting on *sūtra* IV.2.103 speaks of Varṇu *deśa* named after the river Varṇu. It appears that the Kurram river after it left the Kurram Agency and from the point where it enters the Bannu valley was named Varṇu in ancient days. The place situated in proximity to Varṇu is mentioned as Vārṇava (IV. 2. 77, *gaṇa Suvāstvādi*). Although Bannu as a modern town was founded only in 1848, the valley after which the town was named is mentioned in ancient texts. Opposite Varṇu, across the river, was situated the famous Kekaya *janapada* mentioned in *sūtra* VII.3.2 comprising parts of the three modern districts Jhelum, Gujarat and Shahpur adjoining which lay the Salt Range (Sāindhava). South of Kekaya from north to south between the two rivers Jhelum and Indus lay the Sindhu *janapada* proper. On the lower course of the Sindhu was situated ancient Sauvīra *janapada* (IV.1.148), now known as Sind.

Of the rivers of the Panjāb, Pāṇini mentions Vipāś (Beās) and the wells dug on its north side (*udak*, IV.2.74). These wells were more

stable as being on high and dry ground than those on the other side and were therefore distinguished by the accent on their names.

Pāṇini names two other rivers, Bhidyā and Uddhya (*Bhidy-oddhyanade*, III.1.115), of which the latter may be identified with Ujh flowing through Jasrota district and falling into the Rāvi (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XV, p. 73, river Ujh located to the north-west of Mādhopur on the Ravi, p. 107, Rāvi and Ujh in the Jasrota district). On Pāṇini II.4.7 the *Kāśikā* illustrating the compound names of two rivers cites the example *Uddhy-erāvati*, that is Uddhya and Irāvati, the former of which we must consider as a tributary of the latter on the analogy of *Gaṅgā-śoṇam*, another example of the same rule, and, of the counter-example *Gaṅgā-Yamune*. These names suggest that these rivers dried up in summer and flowed in torrents in the rains, as indicated by Kālidāsa who describes their brisk and wayward movements as those of lusty youths like Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (*Raghuvamśa*, XI.8). Bhidyā may be Bai, a tributary of the Ravi.

Devikā

Pāṇini also mentions the river Devikā and what grew on its bank (*Dāvikā-kūla*, VII.3.1), while Patañjali describes the product to be *śāli* rice (III. 316). Pāṇiger identifies it with the river Deeg (*Mārk. Purāṇa*, p. 292). According to the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* the Devikā flowed through the Madra country and this is confirmed by the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also (I.167.15; B. C. Law, *Geog. Essays*, p. 92). The Deeg is a stream flowing through Sialkot district and locally named Dyokā.

Pāṇini mentions another river Ajiravatī (VI. 3.119), the Aciravatī of Pāli texts (modern Rapti) on which stood Śrāvastī. The next river mentioned in this region is Sarayū (VI.4 174) of which the Rapti is a tributary. It may be noted that Sarayū was also the name of a river in remote Ṛgvedic India flowing past Herat (derived from Hari-Rūd, the old-Persian of Vedic Sarayū). Darius I (516 B.C.) in his inscription mentions, *Haraiva*, the people of Harayū, whom Pāṇini calls Sārava. In the Behistun inscription occurs the name *Arriya* (= *Haraiva* = Gk. *Aria* with its capital at Herat).

Another river Rathaspā is mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* to *sūtra* VI. 1.157 (*Bhāṣya*, III. 96, *Rathaspā nadī*). This name occurs in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (Caland, *JB.*, Extract 204) and in the

Ādiparva (172.20) where it is one of the seven sacred rivers between Sarasvatī on the one side and Gaṇḍakī on the other. Most probably it was a river of Pañcāla and the name may correspond to Rhodopha which is mentioned by the Greek writers as marking an important stage on the great royal road from the frontier to Pāṭaliputra. Rhodopha is stated there to be 119 miles from the Gaṅgā; although it is called a town but the mention of the stages generally between two well-known rivers as Jhelum and Beās, Sutlej and Jumna, suggests its having been the name of a river (*Megasthenes* Fragm. LVI; Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p.64). It is yet indefinite which particular stream was the Rathaspā or Rathasthā as the name occurs in the *Ādiparva* and also the *R̥ktantra Prātiśākhya* (sūtra 209), but the distance of 119 miles, if the proposed identification of this name with Rhodopha be correct, lands us on the banks of the Rāmagaṅgā which is the only big river between the Gaṅgā and the Sarayū to present difficulties of crossing so as to merit the name Rathasthā, which must have been given to it in the Vedic period; and which is still in its upper course known as Ruhut or Ruput (*Imp. Gazetteer*, U.P., I, 166). The distances from Hāstinapur on the Gaṅgā to Bareilly on the Rāmagaṅgā and from there to Kanauj where that river falls into the Gaṅgā, almost confirm the stages of the Royal Road mentioned by Megasthenes from the Gaṅgā, which was probably crossed at Hāstinapur to the town of Callinipaxa which is identified with Kanauj as the river Kālindī joins the Gaṅgā near it.

Śarāvātī is mentioned in sūtra VI.3.120 (*Śarādīnām ca*). Several rivers lay claim to this name (cf. Dey's *Geog. Dict.*), the one which separated the Udīcyā from the Prācyā country has already been noted.

Of the rivers of Central India (now Vindhya-Pradeśa) Pāṇini mentions Carmaṇvatī (Cambal, VIII. 2. 12).

Pāṇini used the term Rumaṇvat which the *Kāśikā* connects with a place producing salt (*Lavaṇa śabdasya Rumaṇa-bhāvo nipātyate*). The form Rumaṇvat may have been based on the name Rumā, a river or lake in the district of Sambhar in Ajmer which is also the source of the river Lūṇī.

Pāṇini mentions a desert region as Dhanva (IV.2.121) of which two examples are cited by Patañjali, viz. Pāre-dhanva and Āṣṭaka (II.298) and another by the *Kāśikā* as Airāvata. In the light of the

term Pāre-vaḍavā, Pāre-Dhanva should mean some desert lying beyond the Indus border, as that of the Helmand.

4. JANAPADAS

An important geographical term used by Pāṇini is Janapada. The Janapada was both a state and a cultural unit. Its culture counted more than its geography. Its cultural integrity was reflected and preserved in the manners, customs and above all dialects of its people e.g. the Darad Janapada with its Paiśācī dialect, the Śūrasena Janapada with its Vrajabhāṣā and the Kośala Janapada with its Avadhī language. The citizens belonging to a common (*samāna*) *janapada* were called *sajanapadāḥ* (VI. 3. 85). The *janapadas* known to Pāṇini are the following: —

1. Kamboja (IV. 1.175). Kamboja is mentioned once in the *sūtras* as the name of a country. The term is also applied to the king of the country and also to the *Kṣatriya* tribe probably settled there as a ruling caste. As already stated Kamboja was a kingdom (*ekarāja*). It may be noted that Kamboja is also mentioned in two *gaṇas*, Kacchādi (IV. 2. 133) and Sindhvādi (IV. 3. 93) which name in common eight different *janapadas*, viz. Sindhu, Varṇu, Gandhāra, Madumat, Kamboja, Kaśmīra, Śālva and Kuluna, of which the first six were geographically of the same region. The correct identification of this *janapada* is the key to determine the relative geographical positions of other countries in the extreme north-west of India and Afghanistan. Gandhāra, Kapiśa, Bālhika, and Kamboja are the four great *janapadas* the relative positions of which should be clearly understood. Of these Gandhāra extended from Takṣaśilā, its eastern capital, to the river Kunar, its western boundary, and from the river Kābul in the south to Swat in the north. Next to it was the kingdom of Kapiśa coinciding with modern Kafiristan and occupying the whole area between the river Kunar and the Hindu Kush. The latter mountain known to the Greeks as Paropamisidai and referred to in the Behistun inscription as Parruparaesana (Sanskrit *Upariśyena*, beyond the Eagle's Flight), separated Kapiśa from Bālhika. Sometimes Kapiśa politically formed part of Gandhāra, as in the reign of Darius, and then the name Gandhāra was applied to both of them. In none of these three *janapadas* was Kamboja included. It stands as a separate *janapada*. According to Rhys Davids the capital of Kamboja was Dvarakā which Dr. Moti

Chandra has identified with Darwaz in the Pamir-Badakshan region.¹ The identification of Kamboja with Rājpurī or Rajauri in ancient Abhisāra as suggested by Dr. H. C. Roychaudhuri, or with eastern Afghanistan according to Sir Aurel Stein (*Raj.* IV. 167) are not quite satisfactory. Ancient Kamboja was the upper Oxus region, as suggested by Prof. Jayacandra (*Bhārata-Bhūmi*, pp. 297-303) on linguistic grounds, *viz.* that the root *śava* 'to go' noticed by Yāska as a peculiarity of Kamboja speech (*śavatiṛ-gatikarmā Kambojeṣveva bhāṣyate*, *Nirukta*, II. 2), is still current there. (cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, X, pp. 468, 473, 474, 476, 500). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras are described as living beyond the Himālaya (VIII. 14); and in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* Kāmboja Aupamanyava is a pupil of Madragāra from which the *Vedic Index* postulates a possible connection of the Uttara Madras with the Kambojas, who probably had Iranian as well as Indian affinities (*Vedic Index*, vol. I, 84, 138).

2. *Prakaṇva*. The name is a corollary to Praskaṇva in *sūtra* VI. 1.153 and is stated by the *Kāśikā* to have been a country (*deśa*). It should be identified with the people mentioned by Herodotus as *Parikanioi*, modern Ferghāna (Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Ins.* p. xviii) who are said to have formed part of the empire of Darius. *Prakaṇva* was thus situated immediately to the north of Kamboja or the Pamir region.

3. *Gandhāra*. Pāṇini mentions both the Vedic form Gāndhāri as the name of the *janapada* and its people in *sūtra* IV. 1.169, and its later form Gandhāra, this only in the *gaṇas* IV. 2.133 and IV. 3. 93. Gandhāra extended from the Kābul Valley to Takṣaśilā. Two towns of Gandhāra are mentioned, *viz.* Takṣaśilā, its eastern capital, and Puṣkalāvati, the western. The latter occurs in a *gaṇa* as the name of a river on which the town stood. The Greeks refer to it as Peucelaotes (modern Carsadda, situated near the junction of the Swat with the Kābul). The Puṣkalas of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* must be

¹ The reference is to the Petavatthu commentary *Paramatthadīpanī*, PTS., Part III, p. 113. The text refers to Dvarakā as the home of some merchants proceeding on business to Kamboja through the Maru desert. There seems to be no reference to Dvārakā as the capital of Kamboja. (See also B. C. Law, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 15).

the people of this region. The country between the rivers Suvāstu and Gaurī was known as Uddiyāna which Kātyāyana mentions as Aurdāyanī (*3hāṣya*, II. 292). It was considered in ancient days a part of Gandhāra. A special variety of blankets known as *Pāṇḍu-kambala* (IV. 2.11) was a product of Gandhāra. Gandhāra is also known to the *Atharvaveda* for its wool.

4. *Sindhu*. Sindhu was originally the name of the river, which gave its name to the whole country. The term Sindhu was corrupted to Hi(n)du in the Old-Persian inscriptions of Darius I (516-485 B.C.) and into Indus by the Ionian (=Pāṇini's Yavana) Greeks. Sindhu as a *janapada* may be identified with Sind-Sāgar Doāb, the region between the Jhelum and the Indus. Most of it is now the sandy desert of Thal. *Idāvid* mentioned by Patañjali as a *janapada* was included in Sindhu (*Bhagwanlal Indraji Com. Vol. p. 149*).

5. *Sauvīra* (IV. 1. 148). Pāṇini mentions Sauvīra and gives valuable social history of the region. It was the home of many *gotras* of which he names two, Phāṇṭāhṛti and Mimata, and the *Kāśikā* following old tradition adds Bhāgavitti, Tārṇabindava, Akāśāpeya, Yamunda and Suyāmā. Bhāgavitti is also mentioned by Patañjali (II. 243) and may be identified with the present Bugṭi tribe on the northern border of Sind, numbering about thirty thousand. Pāṇini mentions Śarkarā or Śārkara (modern Sukkur on the Indus) as a town (IV. 2.83). The name was suggested by its proximity to the rocky region (*śarkarāyāḥ adūrabbhavaḥ*) in the borders of which Sukkur is situated.

Pāli literature mentions Rauruka (modern Rori in Upper Sind) as the capital of Sauvīra.

6. *Brāhmaṇaka*. It is mentioned in Pāṇini's *sūtra* (V. 2.71). Patañjali definitely calls it a *janapada* (*Brāhmaṇako nāma janapadaḥ*, II. 298). The significance of its name is brought out by the *Kāśikā*, which describes it as the land of Brāhmins of a particular type. They were *āyudhajīvins* or followers of military art, and very probably a *saṅgha* or republic. Their military traditions continued up to the time of Alexander whose invasion they resisted with utmost patriotism (Plutarch, *Alex.*, 59). The Greeks call them Brachminoi and locate them in middle Sind (Arrian, VI. 16), of which the capital is still called Brahmanabad (Cunningham, *Ancient Geog.*, p. 310).

It may be noted that even Rājasekhara (9th century A. D.) names

Brāhmaṇavāha ('abode of Brāhmaṇas') as one of the *janapadas* of the west. The Muslims named it Brahmanabad after this old tradition.

It may be noted that Patañjali mentions two formations *a-Brāhmaṇaka* and *a-Vṛṣalaka* as names of countries (I. 301), corresponding to Śaudrāyaṇa and Brāhmaṇaka respectively.

Śaudrāyaṇa or the Sudra country is mentioned along with other names in the *gaṇa* Aīṣukāri (IV. 2.54) which denoted names of countries after their peoples (*Viśayo deśe*). Like the Brāhmaṇas, the Śaudrāyaṇas (=Greek *Sodrae*) also are mentioned as having opposed Alexander. Cunningham treats the present Soda Rajputs of south-east Sind around Umarmkot as their descendants (*Ancient Geog.*, p. 291). Diodorus couples the *Sodrae* with the *Massanae* as occupying the opposite banks of the Indus. Cunningham equates the *Massanae* with the *Ma isarnaioi* of Ptolemy, which corresponds to the Masūrakarṇa (derivative Mausurakarṇa) of the *Gaṇapāṭha* (II. 4.69; IV. 1. 112).

7. *Apakara*. This name is mentioned along with Sindhu in *sūtra* IV.3.32, to explain the forms Apakaraka and Āpakara, denoting its products. It may be identified with Bhakhar on the Indus.

8. *Pāraskara* (VI. 1.157). This is mentioned in the *gaṇa* *Pāraskara-prabhṛti*. Patañjali treats it as a country (*Pāraskaro deśaḥ*, III. 96). The name corresponds to Thara-Pārkarā (Thara being the Sindhi form of Thala meaning dry country or desert, as opposed to Kaccha or *jāṅgala* country), one of the biggest districts of Sindh which once denoted the whole of its south-eastern part up to the coast of the Great Rann of Kacch or Kaccha-Irīṇa.

The *Rkṣantra* takes the name Pāraskara as that of a mountain, and the term Pārakara for non-mountainous region, such as the Thar-Parkar district (*Pāra parvate*, IV.5.10, Suryakant's edition, p. 41).

9. *Kaccha* (IV. 2.133). Below the desert comes the watery region Kaccha, which represented the water-logged portions in the south as against the dry desert area in the north. Kaccha was historically connected with Sindh forming its province in the seventh century when Hiuen Tsang visited the country. Cunningham says that Kaccha and Pārkar have always been linked together (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 347). Pāṇini also refers to the names of towns ending in Kaccha (IV. 2. 126), which were mostly situated along the coast

from Bhṛgu-Kaccha to the province of Kaccha. The inhabitants of the Kaccha *janapada* were known as Kācchaka, and a reference to their peculiarities in speech, merry-making and dress has already been noted.

10. *Kekaya* (VII. 3.2). The descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the Kekaya *janapada* were known as Kaikeya. The ancient Kekaya *janapada* consisted of the territory now comprised in the three districts of Jhelum, Shahpur and Gujarat.

11. *Madra* (IV.2.131). Madra was a part of the Vāhika country, as already seen, with its capital at Sākala, modern Sialkot. In the *Upaniṣads* Madra was a noted centre of culture in the north. In the *Mahābhārata* Sākala is mentioned as the chief city of the Vāhikas on the Āpagā river. Patañjali also mentions Sākala as a Vāhika-grāma (II. 294). And so also the *Kāśikā* (IV.2.117). Pāṇini does not explain the derivation of the name Vāhika. Kātyāyana, however, derives it from *bahis*, 'outside', with the suffix *īkak* (IV.1. 85.5). This seems to agree with the *Mahābhārata* description of Vāhika as the country of five rivers lying outside the pale of Aryan society (*dharma-bāhya*), devoid of religion (*naṣṭa-dharma*) and impure (*āsuci*) (Karnaparva, 44.7.32).

Pāṇini mentions two divisions of Madra, Pūrva (Eastern) and Apra (Western) (*Diśo' Madrāṇām*, VII.3.13; also IV.2.108).

12. *Uśinara* (IV.2.118). Pāṇini mentions Uśinara as a part of Vāhika (cf. *Kāśikā* on IV. 2. 118, *Uśinareṣu ye Vāhika-grāmāḥ*). In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Uśinaras and Śavasas are regarded as northerners (II 9, *Śavasa-Uśinareṣu Udīcyeṣu*).

Thus Pāṇini mentions three divisions of the Vāhika country, viz. Kekaya, Uśinara and Madra to which is to be added the fourth division Śavasa. Of these Kekaya and Śavasa may be located between the Jhelum and the Chenab, the first in the north and the second in the south respectively, and Madra and Uśinara were in the north and south between the Chenab and the Ravi.

The *Divyāvadāna* refers to the Śavasas in Uttarāpatha with headquarters at Taxila to which Aśoka was deputed by his father Bindu-sāra as Viceroy to quell their rebellion. The name Śavasa or Śvasa seems to be preserved in the modern name Cibha comprising Punch, Rajauri and Bhimbhar. In literature the Uśinaras are often

associated with the Śibis (Gk. *Siboi*) whose chief town Śibipura has been identified with Shorkot, headquarters of a Tehsil in the Jhang district.

13. *Ambaṣṭha*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini in *sūtra* VIII. 3. 97, and is stated by Patañjali to be implied in *sūtra* IV.1.171 as the name of a *janapada* under a monarchy. The *Mahābhārata* locates them in the north-west and describes them as a kingship. The *Ambaṣṭhas* may be taken as Gk. *Abastanoi* or *Sambastai* on the lower course of the Chenab (*Invasion of Alexander*, p. 155).

14. *Trigarta*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini as an *Āyudhajīvī Saṅgha*, or a Confederation of Six States known as Trigarta-Ṣaṣṭha (V.3.116). But the Trigarta country, although in itself marked out by natural boundaries from the rest of the province was partitioned into smaller territorial divisions or *janapadas* some of which were constituted as monarchies. The name Trigarta denotes the region drained by three rivers, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.

Patañjali mentions Pātanaprastha as a Vāhikagrāma (II.298). It may be identified with Paithan or Pathānkoṭ, situated at the entrance of the Kāngrā valley and at one time the capital of the Audumbaras (Cunningham, *ASR.*, XIV, p. 116; also V, p. 153).

The central portion of Trigarta formed by the valley of the Beas was named Kulūta, mentioned twice in the *Gaṇapāṭha* as Kuluna (IV.2.133; IV.3.93) and known as Kulū. Its ancient capital was at Nagara on the Beas, a name included in the *Katryādi gaṇa* (IV.2.95).

Maṇḍamātī (*Yavadi gaṇa*, VIII.2.9) was perhaps modern Maṇḍī, lying to the south of Kulūta. Pāṇini makes special mention of the Bhārgāyaṇa *gotra* in the Trigarta country (IV.1.111).

15. *Kalakūṭa* (IV.1.173). It is mentioned as a *janapada* under a king. The *Sabhāparva* calls it Kālakūṭa and makes it a part of Kulinda (*Kulindy-viṣaya*, XXVI.3) which was conquered by Arjuna. Kulinda (Gk. *Kylindrine*) was known to Ptolemy as an extensive country including the region of the lofty mountains wherein the Beas, the Sutlej, the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā had their sources (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 105, 109). The Kalakūṭa lay somewhere in this area, with possible traces of its name in modern Kalka, the Simla hills.

16. *Kuru* (IV.1.172). It was known to Pāṇini as a *janapada* and a kingdom. He also mentions the town of Hāstinapura (VI 2.

101), which was known as its capital. The name Āsandīvat, the place with the king's throne, where in his royal city Janamejaya Pārikṣita is stated in the *Mahābhārata* to have performed his sacrifice, is also noticed by Pāṇini (VIII.2.12). Pāṇini also refers to the householder's way of life obtaining amongst the Kurus (*Kuru-gārbhapatam*, VI.2.42) as against the ascetic way. It seems to be akin to the Kuru-dhamma of the *Jātaka* of that name which insisted on the purity of family life and the cultivation of proper domestic relations and virtues (*Kurudhamma Jātaka*, Vol.III, No.276).

17. *Sālva*. Pāṇini mentions *Sālva* (IV.2.135), *Sālveya* (IV.1.169) and *Sālvāyava* (IV.1.173) as three distinct *janapada* units which were monarchies. Of these *Sālva* seems to have been the parent state, *Sālveya* equal to *Sālvaputra*, a collateral branch, and *Sālvāyava*, a bunch of kingly states which the enterprising *Sālvās* either brought under their conquest or planted during the course of their colonising. The last although confined to a limited geographical horizon in the central and north-eastern Punjab, were in relation to each other not geographically contiguous.

The *Sālva* is mentioned as a pair *janapada* with *Matsya* as early as the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I.2.9) and also in the same group in the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣmaparva*, 10.3) where the *Sālvās*, the *Mādreya*s and the *Jāṅgalas* are juxtaposed. *Matsya* with its capital at *Virāṭa* (*Bairat* in Jaipur) provides a fixed point and *Sālva* should be located in that region. Making allowance for the position of the other known *janapadas*, the only place left for *Sālva* coincides with the territory extending from *Alwar* to north *Bikaner*. It may be mentioned that the *Sālvās* were an ancient people who seem to have migrated from the west through *Baluchistan* and *Sindh* where they left traces of their name in *Sālvakā-giri* (mentioned by Pāṇini in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* to VI.3.117), the present *Hālā* mountain, and then advancing towards north *Sauvīra* and along the *Sarasvatī* finally settled in north *Rajasthan*. Of their intrusion towards the *Yamunā* some dim intimation is preserved in an old Vedic verse².

2 *Yaugandharireva no rājeti Sālvīr-avādiṣuḥ, vivṛtta-cakrā āsinās-tireṇa Yamune tava*. 'The *Sālva* women turning their wheels sitting on thy banks O *Yamuna*, have told us that their king is a *Yaugandhari*. (Un ancien peuple du *Penjab*: Les *Sālva*, *Journal Asiatique* 1929, (pp 311-354) p. 314). Keith considers a reference to war-like raid more plausible,

called *Aśva Nadī* (Vanaparva, 308. 7), a tributary of the Chambala (Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 109), showing its situation in modern Kontwar in Gwalior State. Pāṇini also uses the compound *Kunti-Surāṣṭrāḥ* (VI. 2. 37), indicative of their political confederation at one time, when the Nārāyaṇa-Gopālas were settled in the region of Gwalior.

31. *Aśmaka* (IV. 1. 173). Pāṇini also mentions the compound *Avantyaśmakāḥ* showing their proximity (VI. 2. 12).

Aśmaka is named *Assaka* in Pali texts with its capital at *Paithan* (*Pratiṣṭhānta*) on the *Godāvarī* where lived the learned *Brāhmaṇa Bāvari*.

Pāṇini refers to *Taitilakadrū* (VI. 2. 42) which is mentioned after *Pārevaḍavā*, 'a mare from across the Indus', and may have denoted a tawny-coloured mare of the *Taitila* country. *Kauṭilya* refers to horses imported from *Taitila* (*Arthaśāstra*, II. 30). The *Mahābhārata* refers to horses of partridge colour as *tittirakalmāṣa* (*Sablāparva*, 28. 6; 19) which seems to be an equivalent of *Taitila-kadrū*. These horses came from the *Uttara-Kuru* regions (north of Pamir in Central Asia). The *Taitila janapada* may therefore be looked for in the neighbourhood of that region. It may, however, be noted that according to the medieval lexicons *Taitila* was synonymous with *Kaliṅga* (*Nānārthārṇava*, II. 891; *Vaijayanṭī*, p. 37, verse 26) which may be identified with *Titilgarh*, south of *Sambalpur* in *Orissa*. In that case Pāṇini's *Taitila-kadrū* would refer to some tawny-coloured material produced in *Kaliṅga*, probably rhinoceros hides, from *Taitila* signifying that animal on the basis of its habitat. The exact significance of the Pāṇinian word however cannot be determined.

The above list shows the following four *janapadas* lying at the extreme points of Pāṇini's geographical horizon, *Kamboja* northern, *Sauvīra* western, *Aśmaka* southern and *Sūramasa* eastern.

Pāṇini also refers to the boundaries of *janapadas* as shown in his expression *janapada-tadavadhi* (IV. 2. 124). This indicates that the *janapadas* formed their own boundaries, each extending as far as the other without needing any smaller landmark like a village (*Kāśikā, tadavadhirapi janapada eva grhyate na grāmaḥ*). The *Gaṇapāṭha* furnishes some additional names of *janapadas*, viz. *Barbara* (IV. 3. 93; on the sea-coast near the mouth of the Indus where the port *Barbarika* was situated), *Kāśmīra* (IV. 2. 133; IV. 3. 93), *Urāśā* (IV. 3. 93, modern *Hazara*), *Darad* (IV. 3. 93, modern *Dardistan*), *Gabdikā*

(IV. 3. 93, Patañjali mentions Gabdikas as living outside Aryāvarta in his time). It may be identified with modern Gadderan, homeland of the Gaddi tribe, beyond Dhaulidhar in the Chambā valley. *Paṭacchara* (IV. 2. 110, probably modern Pataudi) *Yakṣilloman* (IV. 2. 110 mentioned in the Bhīṣmaparva IX. 46 and Virāṭaparva V. 4, corresponding to the region between Etawah in the north and Jalaun and Orai in the south and Kalpi in the east), and *Sarvasena* (IV. 3. 92; also called Sāryaseni, cf. *Kāśikā*, VI. 2. 33; VIII. 1. 5 described by the *Kāśikā* as a dry region). Patañjali mentions the names of two other *janapadas*, viz. Ṛṣika and Jihnu (IV. 2. 104; II. 298, Jihnu = modern Jhind (?). The name Ṛṣika occurs in the *Mahābhārata* as part of Śakadvīpa. Arjuna conquered the Ṛṣikas across the Vakṣu (Oxus) 'which flowed through the Śaka country'. The Ṛṣikas were later known as Yuechis whose language was called Ārsī. A further instalment and that is a very substantial one, of geographical information is obtainable from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the form of tribal names of people who were living under political constitutions of a varied character.

Many localities are also indicated by Pāṇini as the lands of the peoples after whom they were named, e.g. Yaudheya, Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi, etc.

5. Towns and Villages

The units of settlement comprised (1) *nagara* (town), (2) *grāma* (village), (3) *ghoṣa* (abode of herdsmen VI. 2. 15) and (4) *kheṭa* (hamlets, VI. 2. 126). Pāṇini mentions the villages and towns of Eastern India (*Prācām grāma-nagarāṇām*, VII. 3. 14), but with reference to Vāhika and Uḍīcya country he uses the term *grāma* in a generic sense to include all centres of population (IV. 2. 117 and IV. 2. 109).

Patañjali in commenting on the distinction between these two terms *grāma* and *pura* remarks that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by local usage (*tatrāṭi-nirbandho na lābbhaḥ*, III. 321).

Endings of place-names. Pāṇini uses these various endings to frame rules for explaining the formation of certain terms derived from the places concerned, and this is explained by the following examples: —

1. *Nagara* (IV.2.142), e.g. Mahānagara and Navanagara 'not in the north' (*anudīca*, VI.2.89) probably eastern.

The *Kāśikā* gives the following examples of towns with the ending *nagara*: Nāndīnagara, Kāntīnagara of the north (*udīcām*); Suhmanagara and Puṇḍranagara (the capitals of Suhma and Puṇḍra provinces of Eastern India, VI.2.89); Pāṭaliputra and Ekacakrā (VII.3.14; IV.2.133 in the east); Madranagara (in the north, VII.3.24); and Dākṣīnagara (in the country of Pāṇini's mother, a citizen of which was called Dākṣīnagarīya, IV.2.142); Māhakinagara (IV.2.142).

With reference to Pāṭaliputra it is interesting to note that it was a vast metropolis with two divisions which the *Kāśikā* calls Pūrva-Pāṭaliputra (eastern, probably on the Ganges) and Aparā-Pāṭaliputra (western, probably on the other river Śoṇa, VII.3.14). A citizen of Pāṭaliputra was called Pāṭaliputraka (IV.2.123).

2. *Pura* (IV.2.122), which is mentioned by Pāṇini as an ending in the following names of towns, e.g. Ariṣṭapura (Pāli Aritṭhapura, a city in the kingdom of Śivi in Vāhika); Gauḍapura (VI.2.100, modern Gaur in Bengal); Hāstinapura (the well-known epic town), Phalakapura (may be modern Pharal, 17 miles south-east of Thanesar on the river Oghavati near Phalakivana in Kurukṣetra), Mārdeyapura (VI.2.101).

Patañjali mentions Nāndīpura (IV.2.104; II.298) as a *Vāhika-grāma* and also Kāñcīpura, but not in Vāhika (*ibid*).

The *Kāśikā* adds the following names: Nāndīpura, Kāntīpura (IV.2.122); Lalāṭapura (probably in the region called Lalāṭākṣa, in the Sabhāparva, 47.15, modern Ladākh), Kāñṇīpura, Nāmapura, Śivadattapura (VI.2.99) and Śivapura (a northern town, *udīcya*, probably Śivi country).

3. *Grāma* (IV.2.142). Patañjali mentions the *grāma* called Iṣukāmaśamī, both eastern and western (*pūrva*, *apara* VI.1.85, III.62) to which the *Kāśikā* adds the name Kṛṣṇamṛttikā (VII.3.14) both situated in Eastern India (*Prācām*).

4. *Kheṭa* (VI.2.126), a small hamlet; Hindi and Gujrati *kheṭā*.

5. *Gloṣha* (VI.2.85), a settlement of cowherds (*ābhīrapallī*).

6-9. *Kula*, *Sūda*, *Sthala*, *Karṣa* (VI.2.129), endings applied to names of villages according to the *Kāśikā* (*grāmanāmadheyāni*) which gives the following examples: Dākṣīkūla, Māhākikūla; Devasūda,

Bhājīsūda, Dākṣikarṣa. Kalhaṇa mentions *sūda* as a place-name ending (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I.157, 167).

The ending *sthala* occurs in the name Kapisthala implied in *sūtra* (VIII.3.91, modern Kaithal in Karnal district). It may be noted that the ending *sthala* had an alternative form *sthalī* (IV.1.42). Pāṇini takes it in the sense of a natural (*akṛttima*) geographical feature. The *Kāśikā* instances under *sthala* Dāṇḍāyanasthalī and Māhakisthalī without observing the distinction between the two.

10-11. *Tīra* and *Rūpya* (IV.2.106). In another *sūtra* Pāṇini gives the name Kūstīra as that of a *nagara* (VI.1.155). Patañjali takes it to be the name of a *Vāhika-grāma* (IV.2.104, II.293).

It may be noted that both Pāṇini and Patañjali treat the two terms *grāma* and *nagara* as identical in their connotation in the Vāhika country, whereas there was a clear distinction between them in eastern India (cf. *Prācām grāma-nagarāṇām*, VII.3.14).

Patañjali mentions Dāsarūpya as a *Vāhikagrāma*.

The *Kāśikā* mentions Kākatīra, Palvalatīra, and Vṛkarūpya, Sivarūpya, respectively as examples of these endings.

12-16. *Kaccha*, *Agni*, *Vaktra*, *Garta* (IV.2.126). No example is given by Pāṇini and Patañjali, but there is the well-known seaport called Bhṛgukaccha (*Jāt.* Bharukaccha, No. 463) called Broach. The *Kāśikā* instances under *kaccha* Dāru-kaccha and Pippalī-kaccha (Rajpipla near the mouth of the Narbada); under *agni* Kāṇḍāgni and Vibhujāgni (modern Bhuj); under *vaktra* Indravaktra (some place on the Indus delta).

Here we have four pairs of eight geographical names, preserved as grammatical examples from antiquity. A careful glance at the map of western India affords clue to their identification. Standing at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, we have to our left Pippalīkaccha, the sea-coast of Pippalī, comprising the delta areas of Sabarmati, Mahī, Narmadā and Tapti rivers, of which the old name is still preserved in Pīplā or Rāj-Pīplā. To our right is the sea-coast of Kathiawar, literally equivalent of Dāru-kaccha, (*Dāru* = *Kāṣṭha*).

Agni refers to a burning sandy desert, equivalent to Skt. *Irīṇa* or Rann. Vibhujāgni refers to the great Rann of Cutch-Bhuj in the north-west, and Kāṇḍāgni to the Little Rann of Cutch towards the north-east, traces of its name being preserved in the old sea-port of Kāṇḍalā, now renamed as Gāndhīdhām.

Of the pair of names ending in *vaktra*, Sindhu-vaktra clearly refers to the Indus Delta in lower Sindh depending for its irrigation on that river, and therefore a *nadīmātrka* region. Opposed to it were the *deva-mātrka* tracts of Baluchistan where the parched soil depends for irrigation on whatever it gets as scanty rainfall. The country was therefore called Indra-vaktra as opposed to Sindhu-vaktra. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the exact nature and location of these two regions (Sabhāparva, 51. 11-12), the agricultural produce in one being called *Indra-kṛṣṭa* and in the other *nadīmukha* (*Indrakṛṣṭair-vartayanti dhānyair-ye ca nadīmukhaiḥ*). The former lay across the river Indus (*Pāre-Sindhu*, Sabhā., 51. 11); and comprised the people of Kej-Makran called *Kitavāḥ* (= *Kej*), *Pāradāḥ* (= *Hingulaj*) and *Vairāmāḥ* (= *Rimbakia* of Alexander's historians; Sabhāparva, 51. 12).

The last pair of names refers to Bahugarta and Cakragarta. Bahugarta refers most likely to the valley of the Sabarmatī, Skt. Śvabhramatī, literally the river of holes or chasms (*śvabhra* = hole, pit). Cakragarta refers to the region of Cakra-tīrtha on the Gomatī near Dvārka in Prabhāsa-kṣetra. The two indicated the peculiarity of the natural terrain formed by undulating loessic dunes.

Pāṇini refers to *garta*-ending names again in *sūtra* IV. 2. 137 and separately mentions Trigarta. Patañjali name, Śvāvidgarta as a *Vābikagrāma* (IV. 2. 137) to which the *Kāśikā* adds Śṛgālagarta, Vṛkagarta, also *Vābikagrāmas*, and Bahugarta and Cakragarta (IV. 2. 126).

16. *Palada* (IV. 2. 142) found in such names as Dākṣipalada. This word in the *Atharvaveda* denotes straw (IX. 3. 17) and may have denoted a place in the vicinity of which stumps of various weeds and grasses were found.

17. *Arma* (IV. 2. 90). Pāṇini mentions Bhūtārma, Adhikārma, Sañjivārma, Madrama, Aśmārma and Kajjalārma (VI. 2. 91), to which the *Kāśikā* adds Dattārma, Guptārma, Kukkuṭārma, Vāyasārma, Bṛhadarma, Kapiñjalārma, Mahārma and Navārma. The *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a lake (*brada*) called Schūlārma north of the Sarasvatī, where on its grazing grounds 100 cattle increased to 1000 (XXV. 10. 8). The word *arma* in the *Baudh Śrauta Sūtra* (ix. 1; ix. 3) is explained by the commentator as a village destroyed (*vināṣṭa-grāma*) or deserted (*śūnya*).

18. *Vaba* (IV. 2. 122). Pāṇini mentions Pīluvaha in *sūtra* VI. 3. 121 on which the *Kāśikā* adds R̥ṣīvaha, Kapīvaha, Munīvaha, Piṇḍavaha, Dāruvaha and Phalgunīvaha (mod. Ptagwara; IV. 2. 122). Patañjali names Kaukkuḍīvaha as a *Vābīkagrāma*.

19. *Hrada* (IV. 2. 142). The *Kāśikā* repeats the stock examples Dākṣi-hrada and Māhaki-hrada. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Rāṃa-hrada in Kurukṣetra.

20. *Prastha* (IV. 2. 122; IV. 2. 110). Pāṇini mentions Karkī-prastha and Mālāprastha in *sūtras* VI. 2. 87-88, of which the *gāṇas* mention the following names with the same ending: Maghī, Makarī (mod. Maripat), Karkandhū-, Samī-, Karīra-, Kaṭuka-, Kavala- (IV. 2. 87), Śālā-, Soṇā-, (Sonepat), Drākṣī-, Kṣāmā-, Eka- and Kāma-. To these the *Kāśikā* adds: Indraprastha (well-known epic town), Kuṇḍa-, Hrada-, Suvarṇa-, Dikṣi- and Māhaki, the latter two being stock examples.

In Pāli the term *prasthā* is thus explained by Buddhaghoṣa: 'It denotes a place outside the *grāma*, a wasteland not used by men either for ploughing or sowing (*Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā*, 1. 210; *Dīgh.* 1. 71). It may be noted that the places ending with *prastha* (Hindi, *pat*) are found mostly in the Kuru country, such as Panipat, Sonepat, Baghpat, Tilpat,* etc.

21. *Kanthā* (IV. 2. 142). Pāṇini gives the interesting information that this ending was in use in Uśinara (II. 4. 20) and Varṇu (Bannu) (IV. 2. 103). He names the following places: —

Ciṇṇakantha, Maḍarakantha, Vaitula-, Paṭatka-, Vaidālikarṇa-, Kukkuṭi-, Citkaṇa-, the first one in the *sūtra* VI.2.125 and the rest in *Gaṇa*. The ending and the place-names seem to show that Pāṇini was drawing upon the linguistic material of the frontier country and its non-Aryan dialects, *kanthā* being definitely a Śaka word, for a town as shown in the expression *kadhavara-kanthāvara*. "Here belongs Sogdian expression *kanda*— "city", and Śaka *kantha* "city", earlier attested in Markantha" (Lüders, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 516; also Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 43; *Śaka Studies*, pp. 42, 149, *kantha* "town" in feminine gender). H.W. Bailey also points out that the Persian word *kand*; Khotanese *kanthā*, Sogdian Buddhist Sanskrit *kandh*, Pashto *kandai*, Asica (dialect of the R̥ṣikas or Yue-chis) *kandā*, are all akin to Sanskrit *kanthā*

(H.W. Bailey, Asica, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 194, pp. 22-23).

It may be noted that in the time of Pāṇini and as stated by Darius I, in his inscriptions the Śakas were living beyond the Oxus (*Saka tviy paradraya* 'the Śakas to the east of the Caspian Sea, *Naksh-i-Rustam Ins.*). That country still abounds in such place-names as Samar kand, Kho-qand, Chim-Kand, Tash-kent, Panj-kand, Yar-kand, all ending in derivations of *kanthā* or *kanda*.

The *Mahābhārata* also speaks of the Śakas as living in this region, named by it as Śākadvīpa, and its places like *Cakṣu* (= *Oxus*), *Kumud* (= *Komedai* of Herodotus, a mountain in the Śaka country), *Himavat* (= *Hemodan* mountain), *Sita* (= *Yarkand* river), *Kaumāra* (= *Komarai* of Herodotus), *Maśaka* (= *Massagetai* of Strabo), *Rṣika* (= *Asioi*), *Tuṣāra* (= *Tokarai*). *Parśu* corresponding to *Pārasika* is mentioned by Pāṇini in *sūtra*.

Lastly we owe to the *Kāśikā* the following names ending in *kanthā*: *Sauśanīkantha*, *Āhvarakanthā*, both in the *Uśīnara* country in *Vāhīkaland* (II. 4.20).

TOWNS. Pāṇini's geography mentions towns which may be grouped under two divisions, called *Udīcyagrāma* (IV.2.109) and *Prācyagrāma* (VII.3.14). Among the *Udīcyā* towns some lay in the *Vāhīka* country (*Vāhīka-grāmas* IV.2.117), and some in its southerly part known as *Uśīnara* (IV.2.118), while others were located outside *Vāhīka* towards west (present Frontier Province).

The *sūtras* mention the following towns which naturally figure in them as being the most important in those days:

1. *Kāpiśī* (IV.2.99). It was a town known for its wine *kāpiśūyana* as already stated. It was destroyed by the Achaemenian emperor Cyrus (Kurush, 6th century B.C.). It is identified with modern Begram, about 50 miles north of Kābul on the ground of a *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription found there and naming the city (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 11).

2. *Sauvāstava* (IV.2.77) capital in the Valley of the *Suvāstu* or *Swat*.

3. *Varaṇā* (IV.2.82). It may be identified with the place called *Aornos* by the Greeks as a fort in the country of the *Assakenoi* (*Āśvakāyanas*). It may correspond to modern *Ūṇa*, pronounced *Ūṇrā* in *Pushtu*, situated a few miles west of the *Indus*, as pointed

out by Sir Aurel Stein, who imagined it to be the Sanskrit word *Avārṇa* instead of *Varaṇā* by Pāṇini (*ASM.*, no. 42, pp. 89-90).

4. *Vārṇava* (IV.2.77; IV.2.103). It was so called from its situation in Varṇu or Bannu valley.

5. *Śalātura* (IV.3.94), situated at a distance of four miles from Ohind on the right bank of the Indus, in the northern angle formed by the junction of the Kabul river, modern Lahur, identified as the birthplace of Pāṇini.

6. *Tūdī* (IV.3.94), not identified.

7. *Varmatī* (IV.3.94), possibly Binran (Masson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 69), or Bamian, that famous centre on the ancient route from Balkh to Kapiśā.

8. *Kūcavāra* (IV.3.94), perhaps Kūca, the old name of Turkistan appearing in a Sanskrit manuscript and inscriptions from that region (Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, p. 246). Varāhamihira mentions the Kūcikas among the peoples of the north.

9. *Takṣasilā* (IV.3.39) "a great and flourishing city, the greatest, indeed, of all the cities which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes" (*Alexander's Invasion*, p. 92). Pāṇini applies the term *Takṣaśila* to those whose ancestors (*abbijana*) lived at *Takṣaśila*. *Takṣasilā* existed in all its glory at the time of Alexander's invasion and is described by the Greek writers.

10. *Śārkara* (IV. 2. 83), probably modern Sukkur in Sind on the Indus opposite Rori. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* knows of a western people called Śarkarāḥ (Pargiter, *Mārka. P.*, p. 373).

11. *Sāṅkala* (IV. 2. 75). Probably the same as the town Sangala, the capital of the republican peoples called Kathoi (Kaṭhas) by the Greeks, which was strongly fortified; modern Sangalawala Tiba in Jhang district (M'Crindle's *Alexander*, p. 115).

12. *Kāstīra* (VI. 1. 155), designated a Vāhika city by Patañjali.

13. *Ajastūnda* (VI. 1. 155), not identified.

14. *Ciḥanakantham* (VI.2.125), a town in the Uśinara country where the word *kan^hbā* was a popular ending.

15. *Ariṣṭapura* (VI. 2. 100, same as Aritṭhapura, a city of Sivi kingdom referred to in Buddhist literature).

16. *Gaudapura* (VI. 2. 100), Gauda, the well-known town in the Maldah district of Bengal.

17. *Kapisthala* (VIII. 3. 91), modern Kaithal in Karnal district.
18. *Katri* (IV. 2. 95).
19. *Hāstinapura*, well-known.
20. *Phalakapura*, probably Phillaur in Jullundhur district.
21. *Mārdeyapura*, (IV. 2. 101), probably Mandawar in Bijnor district.
22. *Paladī* (IV. 2. 110).
23. *Ronī* (IV. 2. 78), probably Roni in Hissar district.
24. *Sāṅkaśya* (IV. 2. 80), modern Sankisa, situated on the north bank of the river Ikṣumatī in Farrukhabad district. The Sāṅkāśyādi group also includes *Kāmpilya*, modern Kampil in Kaimganj Tehsil of Farrukhabad.
25. *Āsandivat* (VIII. 2. 12; IV. 2. 86), name of the royal city of Janamejaya Pāriksita, in which the horse for his famous sacrifice was bound, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. 72; the *Kāśikā* equates it with Ahisthala.
26. *Sikhavala* (IV. 2. 89, name of a *nagara* according to the *Kāśikā*, probably Sihawal on the left bank of the Son in Rewa State). Pāṇini again refers to Sikhāvala as a proper name (*Danta-Sikhāt saṁjñāyām* V. 2. 113).
27. Mahānagara and Navanagara (VI. 2. 89), names of two eastern towns, the former perhaps the same as Mahāsthāna, which was the original and ancient capital of Puṇḍra; and the latter to be identified with Navadvīpa which sprang up as a *new* town when Vaṅga or West Bengal was colonised.

TOWNS IN THE GAṆAS. The *Gaṇas* have mentioned the names of numerous towns, as many as about 500. Of these the more famous will be noticed here.

1. *Saunetra*, modern Sunet in Ludhiana district, three miles south-west of Ludhiana town, with a large mound and other ruins indicative of an old city; there were also found Yaudheya, Āgreya and other coins of the pre-Christian period (Cunningham, *ASR.*, Vol. XIV, p. 65; Pāṇini Saṅkalādi-gaṇa).

Śairīṣaka (IV. 2. 80); same as Sirsā, headquarters of a sub-division of the same name in Hissar district, and situated on the north side of a dry bed of the Ghaggar, having considerable ancient ruins.

3. *Tauṣāyaṇa* (*Pakṣādi gaṇa*, IV. 2. 80); modern Ṭohānā, a

place of historical and archaeological interest in the Fathabad Tehsil of Hissar district.

4. *Śrāvastī*.

5. *Vārāṇasī*.

6. *Kauśāmbī*.

7. *Pāvā* (IV. 2. 97), probably Pāvā of the Pāli texts, capital of the Malla country.

8. *Saubhūta* (IV. 2. 75), usually identified with the kingdom of the Sophytes mentioned by Greek writers (M'Crindle, *Alexander*, p. 280). The place is especially noted by the Greeks for a ferocious breed of dogs whose fame spread to Greece even before Alexander's time (*ibid.* p. 364). The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to a similar breed of dogs bred in Kekaya country which was near the Salt Range and the Saubhūti kingdom (*Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 70. 20). It describes them as bred in the royal kennels (*antahpure' ti-samvrd-dha*), strong like tigers (*vyāghra-vīrya-balopama*), big in size (*mahākāya*) and with big teeth (*mahādantṣṭra*). It was probably this breed of dogs that was referred to by Pāṇini also as *kauleyaka* (IV. 2. 96).

That ancient India possessed a large number of flourishing centres of population in the form of cities or towns is also attested to by Greek writers. According to them the Panjab was full of towns, centres of industry and economic prosperity. Many of these figured as forts or centres of defence such as the famous town of Massaga (Maśakāvati) or Aornos (Varaṇā) in the country of the Aśvakas. The free clan called the Glaukanikoi (identical with the Glaucukāyanakas of the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV.3.99) whose country lay in the fertile and populous regions lying in the south of Kāśmīr (the Bhimber and Bajaur districts) between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Chenab and the Ravi, had as many as thirty-seven cities, the smallest of which contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000. There were also a great many villages which were not less populous than the towns. (M'Crindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 112). Strabo affirms that in the territories of the nine nations situated between the Jhelum and the Beas, such as the Malloi, Oxydrakai and others, there were as many as 500 cities (*Ibid.*, p. 112). Megasthenes makes the following general statement on the cities of Mauryan India: "Of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated

yāna. The former is the Buddhism of the North—of China, Tibet, Japan, and the Buddhism of Sanskrit works with their local translations. The latter is the Buddhism of the South—of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and the Buddhism of Pali language with its expositions in the local texts. These two broad divisions developed numerous sub-schools mainly on religio-moral customs and traditions. Metaphysically speaking, Mahāyāna Buddhism accepts the tenets of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra Schools and Hīnayāna Buddhism those of Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika Schools. This in a nutshell is the origin, development and principles of the schools of Buddhism.

The Vedānta philosophy is the most profound, sublime and cogent tradition in the orthodox Indian systems. It is, as its name implies, the culmination ('anta') of the Vedas, the culmination not only in literary strata but in metaphysical consummation. The Upaniṣads of the different schools of the Vedas along with their Āraṇyakas became the fitting *denouement* to the high-strung philosophical tradition of the Vedic literature from its earliest periods. Hence this system of the Upaniṣads bears the significant name of Vedānta. The Upaniṣadic doctrines were systematized by Bādarāyaṇa in his *Brahma-sūtra* or *Vedānta-sūtra* or *Śārīrakamīmāṃsā-sūtra* which gradually became the *forte* of Vedānta. In course of ages this cryptic systematization of Bādarāyaṇa came to be interpreted in different lights by philosophers of different shades of opinion and thus grew up an enormous ramification of the schools of Vedānta. As in Buddhism the original teachings of the Master were interpreted in later ages differently in different schools thus giving rise to cobwebs of metaphysical and dialectical subtleties so much so that entirely new philosophies of speculation grew up though not severed from the original doctrines of moral and spiritual progress, so also the Vedānta philosophy in course of ages became diversified into many schools having entirely new speculations even if it had its firm roots in the doctrines of the Upaniṣads and the system of Bādarāyaṇa. Thus we have the absolute monistic interpretations of Saṅkara, of qualified monistic interpretations of Rāmānuja and even dualistic interpretations of Madhva, Vallabha and Nimbārka with sub-schools developing within these schools according to further elaborations of the absolute monistic standpoint of complete identity ('abheda') between the individual self (Jīva) and the Ultimate Self (Brahman), between the empirical and the

transcendental nature of the soul, or of the qualified monistic standpoint of identity-in-difference ('bhedābheda') or of complete difference ('bheda') between them. In this paper we, however, propose to undertake a study of Buddhism particularly in its Mahāyāna aspects and of Vedānta mainly in its Śāṅkarite interpretations, thus discovering where the great masters showed a communion of minds with regard to the transcendental Reality which they named differently and wherein also lay the points of departure, and how far their philosophies grappled with the problem of final liberation in their peculiar metaphysical conceptions of it.

The Mādhyamika school of Buddhism advocates the doctrine of *śūnya* or *mahāśūnya* and their entire metaphysic is based on the exposition of *śūnyatā*. This doctrine has, however, been subject to much misrepresentation and misinterpretation at the hands of later Indian and Western writers. *Śūnyavāda* had been held to be a kind of nihilism where the ultimate Reality has been equated with a great void and has been bereft of any reality at all. But if we look into the Mādhyamika interpretations of *śūnyatā* we find that such a theory is farthest from the intentions of this school. *Śūnyatā* does not mean anything void as the ultimate Reality. It means only the indescribable nature of the ultimate Reality which is not dependent on any causal series. All the phenomena of the universe are dependent in origin and existence upon others, but the real nature of these phenomena is beyond all *dharmas* (characters) and therefore independent. The very fact of its being independent, of lying beyond the causal series, of being outside the ken of discursive intellect, constitutes the very nature of *Śūnya*, and this fact has been accepted as the ultimate metaphysic in the Mādhyamika school. This *śūnyatā* is nevertheless the real nature of things (*tathatā*) which is indeterminate and indescribable by causal categories. The series of causal categories determines the existence of the phenomenal world, all the objects which are dependent on others in their origin. This theory of origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) is one of the bedrocks of Buddhistic golden mean. It declares that every event is within the causal series and there are no leaps in nature. Nature presupposes a causal series to explain the origin and existence of her phenomena. Any event (effect) is preceded by another (cause) and in itself is the cause of another. Thus the eternal cycle of causes and effects is

going on in the world and everything terrestrial is necessarily transitory. This theory avoids, on the one hand, the extreme of absolute reality and, on the other, that of absolute unreality of the phenomenal world. The world is not an eternal reality independent of any conditional existence, nor is it a great void without anything left behind in the causal series. The phenomenal nature is in a state of eternal flux no doubt, but is not on that account a great void. It is before our eyes, but on that account not the alpha and omega. So long we think of it, it is to be spoken of in terms of dependent origination. But when we think of the *real* nature of it, it is beyond all dependence, an indescribable, indeterminate and transcendental existence where the *pratītyasamutpāda* series plays out its rôle. This is the true meaning in which the Mādhyamikas expound their conception of *śūnyatā* and this real, metaphysical entity is the highest conception in their philosophy². This position of the Mādhyamikas is further clarified by their admission of two grades of truth—the one being empirical, the other being transcendental. The empirical truth (*samvṛti-satya*) is what is known of phenomenal objects in their causal determinations; the other truth is absolute (*paramārtha-satya*) which is beyond such dependence of cause and effect. The former cannot be denied so long as we do not have the realization of the true nature of objects which is, as has been explained above, *śūnyatā*. This is absolutely true of the objects while their empirical truth is relative and dependent³.

2 “यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शून्यतां तां प्रचक्ष्महे ।

सा प्रज्ञप्तिरुपादाय प्रतिपत् सैव मध्यमा ॥”

(*Mādhyamikakārikā* of Nāgārjuna 24/18 : Poussin's Edn. p. 503)

“यस्य हि स्वभावेनानुत्पत्तिस्तस्यास्तित्वाभावः । स्वभावेन चानुत्पन्नस्य विगमाभावान्नास्तित्वाभाव इति । अतो भावाभावान्तद्वयरहितत्वात् सर्वस्वभावानुत्पत्तिलक्षणा शून्यता मध्यमा प्रतिपन्नमध्यमो मार्ग इत्युच्यते ।”

(*Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti on above, *Ibid.* p. 304)

“अप्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नो धर्मः कश्चिन्न विद्यते ।

यस्मात्तस्मादशून्यो हि धर्मः कश्चिन्न विद्यते ॥”

(M. K. 24-12 : *Ibid.* p. 505)

“प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नश्च शून्यस्तस्मादशून्यो धर्मो नास्ति । यत एतदेवमतोऽस्माकं सर्वधर्माश्च शून्या न च परोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः ।” (*Prasannapadā* on above, *Ibid.* p. 505)

3

“द्वे सत्ये समुपाश्रित्य बुद्धानां धर्मदेशना ।

लोकसंवृत्तिसत्यञ्च सत्यञ्च परमार्थतः ॥”

Now if we try to understand the doctrines of the Yogācāras, we shall see that they have admitted *Vijñāna* as the ultimate metaphysical reality. They argue that we cannot deny the *real* existence of *Vijñāna* which must be accepted as the fundamental truth of metaphysical speculations. This *Vijñāna* is consciousness of the subject who cannot logically deny its *real* existence, for to do so will be to commit logical suicide. How can the Mādhyamikas explain the truth of their own argument if there is no conscious agency as the upholder of that truth? Things and objects have their empirical truth no doubt, but their absolute truth is not veiled in a mysterious world of mere indeterminateness and sheer indescribability (*śūnyatā*). Their *real* truth is to be found in the subjective consciousness which alone is *real*. Now this consciousness, the Yogācāras declare, is two-fold; the one is the *ālayavijñāna* and the other is the *pravṛttivijñāna*. The consciousness (*vijñāna*) which determines the existence of things is no doubt grounded in the subject who is the knower of them (this is called the *ālayavijñāna*), but that same subjective consciousness is tinged with the objective hue when the external objects are known as definite objects of consciousness (this is known as the *pravṛttivijñāna*). But things do not *really* exist out and there in the world on their own merit, but as the external presentation of the ideas in the mind in which they are grounded. The logical argument of the Yogācāras consists in the explanation of the immediacy in perception of an object, the consciousness of which cannot arise either before the object has come into existence, or after its existence, which is of one moment only (*kṣaṇikavāda* of the Buddhists). Hence the object, to be immediately perceived, should be thought of as not external to consciousness but grounded in it. Another logical justification of the *vijñānavādi* (Yogācāra) position is to be found in the difficulty in explaining the perception of an externally present object from the fact that neither can its atomic character be perceived nor can its composite whole be perceived simultaneously; even when we conceive of *piecemeal perception* the same difficulties arise. Hence the Yogācāras conclude that only one reality is to be admitted and that is conscious-

“येऽनयोर्न विजानन्ति विभाग’ सत्ययोर्द्वयोः ।

ते तत्त्वं न विजानन्ति गम्भीर’ बुद्धशासने ॥”

(M. K. 24/8-9: *Ibid.*, p. 492 & p. 494).

ness of the subject (*ālayavijñāna*) getting objectified (*pravṛttivijñāna*). The objection of the absolute creation by the mind (subject) at any time of any object is met by the Yogācāras by the admission of impressions (*vāsanā*) of past experiences which lie buried in consciousness. These *vāsanās* being roused up (*paripāka*) under particular circumstances give rise to particular objects revealed in knowledge and not all. This subjective idealism of the Yogācāras has, however, admitted a distinct nature of *Vijñāna* (consciousness) which is rooted in the subject and known by the name of *ālayavijñāna*. It speaks in the highest idealistic strain when it declares that the object being simultaneously present or co-eval with consciousness is not distinguishable from it; to see it as a separate *real* entity is due to false knowledge like the illusory perception of two moons in place of one⁴. But this reality of consciousness is not one which is changeless, but is of the very nature of eternal change. It is a stream of the constantly changing states of consciousness. The *kṣāṇikavādi* Buddhist cannot give a permanently realised existence to any single entity which is the very soul of perpetual changes. Hence *Vijñāna*, too, is of the nature of such a constant flux and flow, and is like a flowing stream, not a placid pool, of such changing states. The metaphysical reality of consciousness is to be regarded as the ground of the phenomenal world, but in its eternally changeful aspect. Bergsonian Idealism of the present century has admitted such a Reality (*élan vital*) whose very life is *Time* or *Duration*.

Now the conception of *Nirvāṇa* which is the *summum bonum* of Buddhistic culture is very much misrepresented in the writings of many writers and the common notion that it is not a state of existence but of annihilation finds a favoured place in them. *Nirvāṇa* is explained by these thinkers as a state of self-annihilation and pure empirical transcendence where the *Arhat* or the liberated saint loses all meaning of life and becomes an extinct soul, so that a liberated *Arhat* attains to some kind of a negative *esse* which is tantamount to non-entity. Such being the grossly misrepresented nature of *Nirvāṇa*, Buddhism is sought to be divested of the living, vibrating philosophy

of perfect wisdom-cum-existence which is realised in the ideal of *Buddhatva*. This state is the *alpha* and *omega* of all spiritual gymnastics in the Mahāyāna philosophy and it is the ideal of true knowledge, perfect wisdom and pure existence for which all sentient beings should strive. This is not merely an ethico-religious bluff, but the very soul of the highest norm of development for all human beings. This is the highest form of Enlightenment for which Buddha himself lived and died. This engenders in the liberated a pure life, full of compassion and love for all creatures and perfect wisdom born out of freedom from sins and attachments⁵. If we read this conception of highest perfection along with that of *Nirvāṇa*, we can definitely say one thing for certain, and that is, *Nirvāṇa* in the tenets of the founder of Buddhism is farthest from a self-denying and self-annihilating philosophy. The Enlightened Soul lives in the state of *Buddhatva* even after *Nirvāṇa* has been achieved and no proof will be greater than the life of the Master himself. He lived in this world with perfect peace and wisdom, with a heart full of love and compassion for a long stretch of 45 years even after Enlightenment (*Nirvāṇa*). On the point of the state of the liberated soul after death Buddha himself was perfectly silent and this is one of the ten great questions on which the Master gave no reply whatsoever. Buddha's reticence, therefore, means that such questions are of the most indescribable character and hence outside the ken of ordinary ratiocinative experiences. The upshot of the discussions on the nature of *Nirvāṇa* comes to this that it is the *summum bonum* of life which has a negative aspect, no doubt, but which is, therefore, not a self-denying state on that score; its positive aspect is as potent as the other. Ultimately the ideal of *Nirvāṇa* is to be found in the annihilation of the endless cycle of births and deaths in the progressive realization of the unity of all selves with the transcendental Reality (*śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas, *vijñānamātra* of the Yogācāras) which has its partial manifestations in

5 Cf. "Thus the essential nature of all Bodhisattvas is a great loving heart (*mahākaruṇācitta*) and all sentient beings constitute the object of its love." (Translation from Nāgārjuna's *Bodhicitta* quoted in *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* by D. T. Suzuki, p. 292). "Therefore all Bodhisattvas in order to emancipate sentient beings from misery, are inspired with great spiritual energy and mingle themselves in the filth of birth and death" (*Ibid.* p. 293).

the individual entities (selves) dancing on its bosom to the fiddle of the empirico-rational processes (the *pañcaskandhas*, viz., *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *viññāna*, *saṃjñā* and *saṃskāra*), but positively it is a life full of perfect wisdom, perfect purity and perfect existence by which it helps the Arhat to pull the oars of his raft of crossing the high seas of births and deaths for the liberation of other souls as well.

A study of Śaṅkara's interpretations of the Vedānta metaphysic is a very interesting and well-thinking-of one in the perspective of the Mahāyāna Buddhistic metaphysic. The Mādhyamika conception of *śūnyatā*, the Yogācāra conception of *viññānamātra* and the general Buddhistic ideal of *Nirvāṇa*, as have been explained above, come very close to the highest idealistic conception of Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara. But we must be very much on our guards to draw over-hasty conclusions from similarities in the metaphysical conceptions of the two systems. It is better and wiser to draw no lines of similitude at all than to present misjudged and misinterpreted conclusions. As a matter of fact, every metaphysic, be it realistic or idealistic, has a peculiar history of its own development of thought, and no sane student of philosophy should stoop to under-estimate the theories of one at the expense of rough and ready generalisations with other systems; still a clear outlook, an unprejudiced mind may carry one long along the path of a cautious comparison and true vision of the truths of different systems. In this light and with this approach we venture to have something of a 'comparative' study of the two of the most developed forms of idealistic philosophy in India.

Now let us examine how Śaṅkara conceives of the ultimate Reality, its relation with the world and its true nature. Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara is the absolute monistic theory of Idealism and is the most systematized study to that end. It conceives of only one Reality which is the Highest Truth that can be thought of. This one Reality which is known in the Upaniṣads as *Brahman* or *Ātman* is the pure transcendental Entity and all the forms of phenomenal existence from the lowest to the highest grades are but grounded in that Reality and are never different from it. It is the consummation of all Existence where the highest form of unity exists. It is not the sum-total of all existents which have an existence, however dubious they may be, nor the highest form of Existence not precluding the lower and lower forms of Existence, but is the *only* Existent Being (*Sat*) conceivable.

There is no difference, but complete identity and unity of all Existence. Such being the highest conception of Reality, Śaṅkara cannot explain the origin and existence of the world and the finite selves but by a truly idealistic theory which receives the greatest enunciation in his system. What is this world and all the finite selves in it with their 'eating, drinking and being merry' due to? Śaṅkara comes here as the expounder of a clear path and that is the only path consistent with his absolute monistic idealism. He says that *Brahman*, the Highest Reality, is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world with all its phenomenal existents ("ऋमाद्यस्य यतः" *Brahmasūtra*, 1 / 1 / 2). How can the One Reality which has no shade of difference conceivable either within itself or with others be said to shred into the endless differences of the phenomenal world with its finite objects and souls? Hence to explain the differentiation of the one Reality into endless forms we cannot with logical impunity take the forms in the same ultimate truth as the Absolute Reality has. The endless forms are therefore nothing but *apparently real* existents which are tossed up in the beginningless cycle of manifestations of the Absolute Reality. This is the theory of *māyā* and *avidyā* which has been the cornerstone of Śaṅkara's interpretations. *Māyā* universalised is the potential nature of *Brahman* to make an endless number of finitudes *appear* as real when their true nature of absolute identity and infinitude is veiled; *avidyā* individualised is the normal pitfall of individual souls (*jīvas*) to fall into, in their vision of the world as through 'coloured glasses'. *Avidyā* is the natural tendency of individual souls to lose themselves in the great turmoil and 'fitful fever' of life. The essential unity in transcendence, the absolute identity with the Absolute, are hidden by the veil of ignorance—ignorance individual and Nescience universal. Hence all the stages of life through which the *Soul is supposed to pass* are all appearance—appearance of duality and plurality in the reality of unity and identity.

This is the cardinal doctrine of the Upaniṣads and the *Brahmasūtras* and Śaṅkara interprets the universe in this light. Hence Śaṅkara conceives of the Absolute Reality as the transcendental unity and identity of all Existence which under subjective ignorance (*avidyā*) and trans-subjective Nescience (*Māyā*) *appears* to be of endless diversified positive realities. But Reality being one and that being Absolute Consciousness (*Brahman* or *Ātman*), all the finite *reals* lose all their

meaning and significance in its light. They become meaningless because of their diversity and significant on account of their unity. So Śaṅkara has given only *apparent reality* which, though sounding as paradoxical, is *empirically* unquestioned. The world with all the manifestations of finitude—objects and selves—is given by Śaṅkara the *empirical* reality (*vyavahārika-satya*) it has; so long as the play of 'a blind led by another blind' will continue in empirical divisions and distinctions of subject and object, of means and target, the reality, however apparent, of this empirico-rational process is not denied by Śaṅkara. It is denied by him only when the vision of Absolute Reality (*paramārtha-satya*) is realised and complete unity and identity in its transcendence over subject and object, means and target, are revealed. To Śaṅkara, therefore, two categories or grades of truth are an empirical necessity, not a metaphysical reality. Out of purely empirical necessity, Śaṅkara is prepared to grant even *prātibhāsika-satya* or truth of much lower empirical value in that it is empirical appearance as real for the moment only of a falsely cognised object (as a serpent on a piece of rope—*rajjusarpabhrama*). These *relative* criteria of truth have validity in their own empirico-rational or empirical spheres, but truth as truth is one and indivisible and that is the Highest Truth consummated in the conception of the Highest Being (*Brahman*) which is the ground of explanation of all Existence.

The standpoint of Śaṅkara's metaphysics is far removed from that of the Mahāyāna Buddhism which has also a very good idealistic basis and a well-nigh monistic approach. Śaṅkara's conception of the Absolute (*Brahman*) is a distinct one from the Mādhyamika conception of *Śūnyatā* or the Yogācāra conception of *Vijñāna*, a conception at once a sound positivity and a solid Reality. *Brahman* is no doubt the transcendental Reality beyond all phenomena but does not hover around a completely mysterious, indescribable and unstable Existence which we meet with in the other two conceptions. Vedāntic *Brahman* is the positive Reality of transcendental spirit which is the very consummation of Existence, Knowledge and Bliss (*Saccidānandasvarūpa*). The Upaniṣadic dicta "Satyaṁ Jñānam Anantaṁ Brahma" (*Taitt. Up.* 2/1/1, "Ānandaṁ Brahmeti vyajānāt" (*Taitt. Up.*) "Vijñānam Ānandaṁ Brahma" (*Bṛhad. Up.* 3/9/28), "Sadeva Somyedamagra āsit" (*Cb. Up.* 6/2/3) point to the fact that *Brahman* is the Pure Spirit which is the very consummation of Existence—Knowledge—Bliss

immanent in every phenomenal entity, conscious or unconscious (*jīva* or *jada*). All these entities have these three characteristics—it has existence (*asti*), it has revelation (*bbāti*) and it has pleasurability (*priya*) but have all the variations in their name (*nāma*) and form (*rūpa*). So existence, revelation and pleasurability are the common marks of all phenomenal entities but they have not these on their own merit. These are the immanental expression of the transcendental Reality of Existence—Knowledge—Bliss which is Brahman. So the realization of this transcendental Reality is one of a positive Entity—an Entity which is without any characterization, the mark of finitude—but the One, Unqualified, Undifferentiated Entity which is Existence, Knowledge and Bliss all combined in their consummation. If that be so, how is it that *Brahman* has been spoken of in all forms of *negativity* in the Upaniṣads, (e.g., एतद्वै तदत्तरं गार्ग्यं ब्राह्मणा अभिवदत्यस्थूलमनगवहस्वमदीर्घममलोहितमस्नेहमच्छाद्यमतमोऽवाय्वनाकाशमसङ्गमरमगन्धमचक्षुष्कमश्रोत्रमवागमनोऽतेजस्कमप्राणममात्रमनन्तरमब्राह्मम्—*Bṛhad. Up.* 3/8/8)? Śaṅkara's reply is that *Brahman* is indeed to be spoken of in negativity when the real, transcendental nature of *Brahman* is to be thought of. *Brahman* is the positive background, or rather ground, of the world, but *Brahman* as the transcendental Reality is the very *negation of all finitude* expressed in being thought of. The Upaniṣadic process of 'neti', 'neti' ('not this', 'not that') is the application of the *negative process of futility* in conceiving of *Brahman* with the coloured glasses of all finitude. So Brahman as the real transcendental spirit is not a *negative Entity* but a *negating Infinitude*. The *śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas is no doubt a conception of a transcendental Reality behind and beyond all phenomenal existence which is the cyclic order of dependent origination in the eternal cause-and-effect series, but, nevertheless, is indescribable indeterminate, even mysterious, something *Other* which is willy-nilly to be recognised to explain this cyclic order; the *viññāna* of the Yogācāras is likewise the only Reality and every phenomenon is but the external manifestation of it and is dependent on the same cause-and-effect series but resolved in the unitary Reality of *viññāna*.

Now the very conception of the cyclic order of cause-and-effect cannot itself be sufficient reason for phenomenal existence as supposed in Buddhism. The twelvefold chain (*dvādaśa nidāna*) of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) necessarily pre-supposes a positive Entity which is Sufficient Reason for such an order. Buddhism in its con-

ception of eternal flux and flow (*kṣaṇikavāda*) fails in its twofold conception of *śūnyatā* (*Mādhyamika*) and *viññānamātra* (*Yogācāra*) of such a dubiously existing transcendence to provide the conception of such an Entity⁶. The *Yogācāra* conception of *ālayaviññāna* is open to the serious objection that this stream of *momentary* bits of consciousness cannot sufficiently explain recollective knowledge (*anusmṛti*) which pre-supposes a stable positive Being⁷. The *Yogācāra* argument of an Entity acting unitarily on the ground of similitude is untenable, for the unitary actions of the same Self pre-supposes an identity and not similitude⁸.

Their exposition of the external manifestation of the internal *viññāna* is likewise unsatisfactory, for the external manifestation cannot be regarded a non-entity inasmuch as it would have been impossible to say that *viññāna* appears *as* external where we presume the entity of the external. A complete non-entity like 'the son of a barren woman' cannot be conceived of as a ground of appearance of somebody (as 'That man appears *as* the son of a barren woman')⁹. Hence the external world cannot be sufficiently explained as the mere projection

6 “भवेदुपपन्नः सङ्घातो यदि सङ्घातस्य किञ्चिन्निमित्तमवगम्यते, न त्ववगम्यते । यत इतरेतरप्रत्ययत्वेऽप्यविद्यादीनां पूर्वपूर्वमुत्तरोत्तरस्योत्पत्तिमात्रनिमित्तं भवद्भवेत्, न तु सङ्घातोत्पत्तेः किञ्चिन्निमित्तं सम्भवति । नन्वविद्यादिभिरर्थोदात्तिष्यते सङ्घात इत्युक्तम्, अतोच्यते । यदि तावदयमभिप्रायः अविद्यादयः सङ्घानमन्तरेणात्मानमलभमाना अपेक्षन्ते सङ्घातमिति, ततस्तस्य संघातस्य किञ्चिन्निमित्तं वक्तव्यम्, तच्च नित्येष्वप्यणुष्वभ्युपगम्यमानेष्वभ्रयाभ्रयिभूतेषु भोक्तृषु सत्सु न सम्भवतीत्युक्तं वैशेषिकपरीक्षायां, किमत्र पुनः क्षणिकेष्वप्यणुषु भोक्तृहितेष्वभ्रयाभ्रयिशून्येषु चाभ्युपगम्यमानेषु सम्भवेत् ।

(*Sārirakamīmāṃsābhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, 2/219).

7 “अनुभवमुपलब्धिमनूतपद्यमानं स्मरणमेवानुस्मृतिः सा चोपलब्ध्येककर्तृका सती सम्भवति, पुरुषान्तरोपलब्धिविषये पुरुषान्तरस्य स्मृत्यदर्शनात् ।” (*Ibid.* 2/2/25).

8 “न चायं सादृश्यात् संव्यवहारो युक्तः तद्भावावगमात् तत्सदृशभावानवगमाच्च, भवेदपि कदाचित् बाह्यवस्तुनि विप्रलम्भसम्भवात् तदेवेदं स्यात् तत्सदृशं वेति सन्देहः, उपलब्धिरिति सन्देहोऽपि न कदाचिद्भवति, स एवाहं स्यां तत्सदृशो वेति ।” (*Ibid.* 2/2/25)

9 “तेऽपि हि सर्वलोकप्रसिद्धां बहिरवभासां सम्बिदं प्रतिलभमानाः प्रत्याख्यातुकामाश्च बाह्यमर्थं बहिर्वदिति वत्कारं कुर्वन्ति । इतरथा हि कस्माद्बहिर्वदिति ब्रूयुः । न हि विष्णुमित्रो बन्ध्यापुत्रवदवभासत इति कश्चिदाचक्षीत ।” (*Ibid.* 2/2/28).

of the internal subjective consciousness (*ālayaviññāna*), for there is a duality between consciousness and its object. The *ālayaviññāna* of the Yogācāra Buddhists is not the sufficient explanation for the *appearance* of the external objects; it cannot have self-revelation, for then it will have action engendered on itself¹⁰. The Vedāntic conception of Pure Transcendental Self which is of the nature of Consciousness (*Sākṣīcaitanya*) is not liable to these objections; for this Absolute Consciousness is the real background behind all phenomenal existence which *appears* to be out and there not as its projections but as the creation of individualised ignorance and universalised Nescience which rake it up in the bosom of the Absolute Reality (Brahman) that is itself self-revealed. Hence Vedāntic Absolute Consciousness (*Sākṣīcaitanya*) and Yogācāra conception of the stream of momentary conscious states (*ālayaviññāna*) are at poles asunder; the latter is the lower category which is under the all-comprehensive conception of the former¹¹. Subjective conscious states, however linked up in a stream, are as much finite as the finite objects and hence is never the Infinite Consciousness which is the Vedāntic *Sākṣin*. It is equated with Brahman as being beyond all qualifications and differentiations, as the only ultimate Reality which needs no other aid to its revelation but is self-revealed, at the same time revealing all the finite objects only *appearing* to be existent¹².

The conception of *Nirvāṇa* as the highest form of liberation from the body-mind causal complex is the last word in Buddhistic metaphysics. We have discussed above at some length this conception

10 “न चार्थव्यतिरिक्तमपि विज्ञानं स्वयमेवानुभूयते स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधादेव ।”
(*Sārirakamūlāsāhāya* of Śaṅkara, 2/2/28)

11 “साक्षिप्रत्यययोश्च स्वभाववैषम्यादुपलब्ध्युपलभ्यभावोपपत्तेः, स्वयंसिद्धस्य च साक्षिणोऽप्रत्याख्येयत्वात् । * * * * *
अतो विज्ञानस्याप्यवभास्यत्वाविशेषात् सत्येवान्यस्मिन्नवगन्तरि प्रथमं प्रदीपवदवगम्यते । साक्षिणोऽगन्तुः स्वयंसिद्धतामुपक्षिपता स्वयं प्रथते विज्ञानमित्येष एव सम पक्षस्त्वया वाचो-
युक्तयन्तरेणाश्रित इति चेत्, न विज्ञानस्योत्पत्तिप्रवृत्तिसानेकत्वादिविशेषवत्त्वाभ्युपगमात् ।
अतः प्रदीपवद्विज्ञानस्यापि व्यतिरिक्तावगम्यत्वमस्माभिः प्रसाधितम् । (Ibid. 2/2/28)

12

“न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं ।

नेमा विद्युता भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ॥

तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं ।

तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभात ॥” (*Kaṭhopanishad*)

and tried to show that it is not only a negative super-normal experience of unity with the Transcendental Reality (*Śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas or *Vijñānamātra* of the Yogācāras), but is always accompanied with the solid, positive conception of *Buddhatva* in which state a heart over-flowing with the milk of human kindness and a mind pure with extreme placidity are the key-notes of the Enlightened Soul. This state of *Nirvāṇa* is therefore not incompatible with active, bodily existence, only that the existence is transmuted under the fire of Supreme Knowledge. The *Buddha* tries for the uplift of other souls with an extremely compassionate heart (*mahā-karuṇācitta*) even after perfect Enlightenment (*Nirvāṇa*). At least the life of the Master himself is an eloquent testimony to this fact. The concept of *Mokṣa* or ultimate liberation in Advaita Vedānta is very much at home with its metaphysical stand and hence is something different from that of Buddhism (*Nirvāṇa*). Liberation does not mean anything external to be attained by external processes, but is the very nature of the Soul (*svabhāva*) which is only veiled under the omnipotent Nescience. The dispelling of ignorance (*avidyānāśa*) is not a *means* to the end of liberation (*mokṣa*) but is equivalent to it. The veil of ignorance being dispelled by the eternal light of true knowledge only means that the soul has come to its *own* which therefore is not an external end. This concept of *Mokṣa* is one of distinct realization of what is true and eternal as the very embodiment of the Soul and therefore the most positive Existence which is supra-ratiocinative-process. All empirical knowledge which is necessarily of the finite is false in regard to this Supreme Knowledge which is the Highest Truth of all the finite. So Śaṅkara does not think of anything outside of the Soul as the object of *Mokṣa* but the very nature of the Soul which is realised by constant endeavour towards discriminatory knowledge between the self and the not-self. This is what is meant by Self-realisation which is spoken of in the Upaniṣads as 'Ātmānaṁ viddhi' (Know Thyself), and 'Tattvamasi' (Thou art That). What then is the nature of the liberated Soul? Advaita Vedānta is not reluctant to recognise the life of action of the liberated Soul (*jīvanmukta*) as the Buddhists think of the *Buddhatva* state. But all the actions flowing from the liberated Soul become mechanical as the revolving movements of the wheel even when external force has ceased to be applied thereto. The actions of the *jīvanmukta* will no doubt

exist as long as he lives, but those actions will all have been merged into the fire of Pure Knowledge. All finitude, all discrimination, all limitation will cease in the liberated Soul; this will be the life of the Infinite, the Unlimited, the Supreme Unity of all Existence. Hence the *jīvanmukta* will be free from all the sordid touches of wilful limitation but will have the only spark of True Knowledge. This is what the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* teaches when it says: “*Īnānāgniḥ sarva-karmāṇi bhasmasātkurute tatbā*” (4/38). The *Buddhatva* conception is one of transmuted Existence where the *Buddha* lives for the world. But Śaṅkara’s *Mukta Puruṣa* lives only in the light of Pure Knowledge where the world coming and going is the least affective object to his Pure Existence. The actions in and for the world come out in an automatic succession, which, however are far from the nature of the liberated Soul. This is Śaṅkara’s conception of *Mokṣa* and *Mukta* and unless we keep in view this metaphysical outlook, we shall fail to evaluate him dispassionately.

Mahāyāna Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta are great systems of Idealistic metaphysics; both advocate ultimate monism, both go a long way together in their metaphysical outlook, but both part ways after a certain point. Śaṅkara takes a parting way from the Mahāyānist in more respects than one. This is a system which is something unique in Indian Idealistic Monism and he unreservedly advocates it in all his writings. Mādhyamika and Yogācāra go to a great length to propound their idealistic monism, but the one lapses into irrevocable mysticism while the other into irreconcilable solipsism. Śaṅkara with firm determination does not falter in his steps which stair by stair rise up to the highest peak of Idealistic Monism where there is no contradiction within or without itself.

BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA

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Social Reforms of Akbar

By nature liberal and tolerant of others' views, Akbar broadened his outlook by philosophical and religious discussions with outstanding men of different communities and sects. He respected social customs of all sects and communities, but he was never prevented, on that account, from lifting a hand of reform against whatever was insupportable on humanitarian and ethical grounds. In matters of marriage he was of progressive outlook. The practice of child marriage was very much disliked by him¹, though it had then, as now, the sanction of both Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy. His view was that the marriage of a young child was displeasing to the Almighty². Akbar legally prohibited marriage of boys below sixteen and girls below fourteen as the offspring of early marriage tend to be sickly and weak³. According to Badaoni, the sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry unless they came before the Kotwal who had to take down their respective ages⁴. Badaoni, an ultra-conservative, has bitterly criticised Akbar for his interference with Islamic social institutions. A rank traditionalist, he could never appreciate Akbar's progressive outlook.

Akbar permitted widow re-marriages among the Hindus⁵. He used to say that in a religion which forbids the re-marriage of the widow, the hardship is grave⁶. Akbar's attempt at the re-introduction of widow re-marriage cannot be regarded as an interference with Hindu social customs; he only tried to mete out the treatment to the Hindu widow which was her due from the Hindu society.

In the Muslim community marriage between relatives is allowed to a certain degree. Abul Fazl has recorded that Akbar disapproved the idea of marriage between near relations⁷. Akbar, in fact, forbade marriage between cousins on the ground that such marriages were not conducive to mutual love⁸. Akbar held that marriage between

1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 287.

2 *Happy Sayings*—*Ain*. vol. II (ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar), p. 448.

3 *Badaoni*, II, p. 306.

4 *Ibid.*, II, p. 391.

5 *Ibid.*, II, p. 356.

6 *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. III, p. 448.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 288.

8 *Badaoni* II, p. 306.

the unrelated was commendable in order that heterogeneity might become kinship, and between relations the more remote the affinity the closer was the concord⁹.

In Akbar's time, a Muslim groom had to promise a dowry, often a large one, to the bride¹⁰. In case of a divorce, the bride might demand the full payment of the promised dowry. Akbar was against high dowries because as they were rarely ever paid. But he appreciated that the promise to pay a high dowry often acted as a preventive against rash divorce¹¹. He particularly discouraged marriage between a youngman and an old woman because such marriage was against all modesty. From Abul Fazl we have that Akbar appointed two sober and sensible officers called Tu-I-begi. One's function was to collect all information about the groom, while the other's was to gather facts regarding the bride¹². Akbar made it a rule that no man could lie with a wife older by more than twelve years¹³. He also ordered that no man could have more than one wife unless his first wife was sterile¹⁴. According to Abul Fazl Akbar hated the practice of polygamy because it was detrimental both to health and to domestic peace¹⁵. He held the view that in matters of marriage the consent of both the parties as well as of their parents should be obtained before the ceremony¹⁶.

Circumcision of children of tender age was forbidden by Akbar. Badaoni says that "circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve and was then left to the will of the boys". According to the orthodox Muslims it was against Islam. It may be mentioned here that it was a Jewish custom which Islam adopted. The circumcision is not an essential factor of Islam. It is only a social custom which Islam adopted because it suited the hygienic condition of the Semetic people. Many non-Semetic people who were converted to Islam did not adopt this law of circumcision.

Sati was a long established practice in Hindu society. Originally it meant self-imposed death of a devoted wife who could not bear

9 *Happy Sayings*, p 449.

10 In modern times among the cultured Muslims, the dowry is offered by the bride to the groom.

11 *Ain.*, vol. I, p. 288.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

13 *Badaoni*, II, p. 380.

14 *Ibid.*, II, p. 356; *Happy Sayings*, p. 449.

15 *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 288.

16 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 287.

to be separated from her dead husband. In course of time corruption, however, crept into the practice. When a wife was unwilling to die with her husband she was often tortured and forced to kill herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. Akbar decided to stop this barbarous and inhuman custom. He did not, however, aim at complete abolition of the custom of Sati for that would have displeased his Hindu, specially his devoted Rajput, subjects. He just tried to stop the Sati by force. He ordered that a Hindu girl whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated should not be burnt¹⁷. He did not object to any woman becoming a Sati of her own will, but he would not approve of a forced Sati¹⁸. He appointed officers to investigate the cases of Sati whether they were voluntary or forced, and kept a close watch so that no woman was forced to become a Sati. Kotwals had special instructions to prevent all cases of forced Sati¹⁹. In everything he proposed to do, he never rest satisfied with the promulgation of regulations only but took personal care to see that they were enforced. When Jaymal, a cousin of Raja Bhagwandas, died, his widow, a daughter of Udaya Singh of Jodhpur refused to be a Sati. But her son and parents were forcing her to perform the rite, when Akbar personally intervened and saved her²⁰. Akbar used to say that Hindu wives gave up their priceless lives with a smiling face on the death of their husbands, thinking it to be a means of their husbands' salvation. It must be a strange commentary on the magnanimity of men that they should seek their deliverance through the self-sacrifice of their wives²¹.

He had full cognisance of the evils of drinking. But he felt that total prohibition was almost impossible as the luxury-loving Umrahs and high Hindu officials were addicted to it. But he did not, for that reason, allow things to go worse. He first tried to regulate the use of wine. Wine could be purchased at market in limited quantity and only on medical prescription²². He imposed a control on the price of wine, and any man could purchase wine on medical grounds by submitting his own name and the names of his father

17 *Badaoni*, II, p. 356.

19 *Ain.*, II, p. 45 (Ed. J. N. Sarkar).

20 *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 595.

21 *Happy Sayings*, p. 449.

18 *Ibid.*, II, p. 375.

22 *Badaoni*, II, p. 301.

and grandfather to the clerk of the shop²³. Drunkenness was heavily punished. According to Badaoni a large number of people were punished everyday for drunkenness.²⁴ As purchasers of wine had to furnish their names and addresses, this arrangement acted as a check on addiction to drinks because those who were not prepared to make their indulgence known to the public, must have refrained from drinking. A few might have procured wine by furnishing false names and addresses, but there is no reason to think that everybody did or could use the trick²⁵. But with all his measures Akbar could not claim to have attained a large measure of success. His failure was not due to his own faults. Prohibition as a state measure on humanitarian grounds was never attempted in any country in the sixteenth century; and even most of the modern states have not fared better.

Akbar also had taken measures against sexual immoralities. How often the most natural instinct which is the cause of reproduction and constant flow of creation is subjected to the grossest misuse. Akbar in his role of a social reformer tried to cure these social evils as far as he could. He did not attempt to prohibit prostitution as he felt that times were not ripe for it. In his time, Delhi had a large number of professional prostitutes. They had a separate locality, called Shaitānpura or Devils' Ville to themselves²⁶. Akbar made a rule that girls guilty of indecent manners and morally fallen women should be sent to this Devil's Ville²⁷. For supervision of brothels there were a Daroga and a clerk who maintained a record of patrons of prostitutes²⁸. Without official permission no person could take a dancing girl to his house²⁹. Umrahs of rank had to obtain the Emperor's permission for taking a virgin to their houses³⁰. Transgressions in this matter were severely punished. Badaoni records that the Emperor once sent for well-known courtesans and enquired about persons responsible for their seduction. On verifying their reports he reprimanded many of his Umrahs and even cast some of them in prison³¹.

23 *Badaoni*, p. 301.

25 *Ibid.*, III, p. 302.

26 *Ibid.*, II, p. 302.

28 *Ibid.*, II, p. 302.

30 *Ibid.*, II, p. 302.

24 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*, II, p. 380.

29 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

Every month in Akbar's time there was a fair at Mina Bazar where women from the Emperor's harem as well as from other homes gathered for a day. The Emperor called the day Khusroj or the joyful day as it was a day of enjoyment³². Badaoni was a deep-dyed conservative, and regarded this practice of Akbar as an interference with the practices of Islam³³. Islam does not prescribe purdah, nor does it recommend imposing restrictions on women's movements.^{33a} At least Muhammad had never said any such thing. In Muhammad's time and also in later times many Muslim women occupied honourable positions in many fields of life. In the battle between Caliph Omar and the Emperor Heraclius in 641 A.D. Muslim women had been of inestimable help³⁴. As time went on women were gradually deprived of their due rights owing to depravity in religion. Most probably in the time of Walid II, purdah was introduced into Muslim society from Byzantium³⁵. The Hindu religion also had never advocated the purdah. In the Vedic Ages a wife was her husband's real colleague in matters of religion and often acted as a hostess to the guests at her house. In course of time she too was deprived of her social rights and condemned to seclusion from social intercourse. All these lead us to conclude that Akbar never interfered with any religion. He only wanted to give women access to open air of which they had been so wrongfully deprived.

A study of the social reforms of Akbar leaves no doubt in our mind that he was actuated by lofty and generous nature and not by *amour propre*. Akbar was very much moved by the evil customs and superstitions ruining the society, and the noble human feelings in him urged him to fight against all those ills. His regulations against the burning of Hindu widows against their will speak volumes for his humanity and generosity and help us to realise how truly his heart was overflowing with the milk of human kindness, inspite of the fact that the blood of Timur and Chengiz flowed in his veins. He was the last person to interfere with the religious or social customs of his

32 *Ain.*, I, p. 287.

33 *Badaoni*, II, p. 338.

33a J. Hell: *Arab Civilization*, p. 54-5.

34 S. M. H. Zaidi: *The Muslim Womanhood in Revolution*, p. 21.

35 *Position of Women under Islam* by S. M. H. Zaidi. The same author has an admirable book, *Quranic Purdah and Distinguished Muslim Women*.

subjects but he was the first person to fight against the narrow superstitions and evil customs of his people and thereby to lead his country and people on to progress. In other words Akbar was the first man to blaze a way to a more rational life across age-old superstitions and prejudices. It is true that he could not and did not try to abolish completely evils like Sati or drinking but that was due to factors over which he had little or no control. His reforms must be appraised in the light of his age and his age was prodigiously superstitious. Had Akbar tried to impose hurriedly his advanced ideas upon the people he like Joseph II would have met with failures everywhere. He was not like Muhammad Tughlak a "poor judge of human nature" who failed to realize that the reforms, however beneficial these might be, could not be easily imposed on the people against their will. A reformer must not be impatient and unwise. Akbar was a cautious practical reformer, opposed to hasty reforms but with a mind open to conviction and fearless enough to act according to it. He knew his age, his people and so he proceeded slowly and cautiously and introduced moderate and not radical reforms. Had Akbar attempted to abolish the evil custom of Sati altogether, his Hindu subjects and especially the Rajputs who were the props of his empire would have been alienated. He was aware of this and here he gave an unusual proof of farsightedness. His reforms remind us of the Sarda Act, the early British measures to confine Sati to willing victims, and the present excise policy in Indian cities. In spite of his limitations it must be admitted that we cannot but pay homage to this great monarch who in the midst of an atmosphere of social decay, loose morals and silly superstitions that prevailed around him could rise above his age and adopt measures which were very helpful to the social life of his times.

S. K. BANERJEE

Concordance of the Fauna in the *Rāmāyaṇa**

103. NALA = Species of reed. Amphidonax Karka.

Ara—lxxviii (9a).

104. NĀGA = Snake, serpent.

AK. 57. न-अगा नागः

Adi—v (22b), xli (7b, 9a, 12b, 13a), xlvi (31b).

Ayo—xv (7b), xxv (27b, 30b), xxviii (13a), cviii (18b).

Ara—vii (32b), xx (29b, 32b), xl (14a), xliii (47b),
xlvi (13b), xlviii (11c).

Kis—viii (19a), xviii (23b), xlii (3a).

Sun—vii (13a, 66a), ix (13b), xv (12a), xviii (5b, 30b),
xlix (19a), lxxv (31a), lxxx (9a), xciv (12a).

Yud—iv (35a), xvi (61b), xix (50a), xxi (5a), xxiv (1b),
xxvi (15c, 16a, 29a), xxxvii (55a) liii (61a).

Utt—vii (18b, 36b), xvi (10b), xxiv (18a), xxvii (4b),
xxix (56a), xxx (7a), xxxi (23a), xxxii (6a), civ (8a),
cv (29a), cxi (5a), cxv (13b, 20c).

105. NĀGA = Elephant.

AK. 127/183.. नगे भवो नागः । न-अगो वा ।

Adi—vi (25a), xxvii (24b), xxviii (2b, 6a), xli (22a)
lxxix (21a).

Ayo—xxviii (7a), xxxii (9a), xl (9b, 20b), lxxvi (39a),
lxxxix (13d), xc (3a), xcii (25c), cvi (12a, 29a), cvii
(14b), cix (27a, 32b, 36a), cxi (47a), cxxiii (22d),
cxxiv (20a), cxxv (22b).

Ara—xliii (4a), lxxviii (25a, 31a).

Kis—ix (35b), xxxi (22b, 23a), lx (15a), lxi (13c).

* Continued from p. 359 of vol. XXVIII, No. 4.

103 *Mbh.*

104 *Śat. Brā.* xi, 2, 7, 12; *Āśval. Gr. Sūtra*, iii, 4, 1; *Mbh.* (BORI),

1, 2, 77; 1, 52, 14.

105 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, i, 3, 24; *Ait Brā.* viii, 22; *Mbh.* II, 360.

Sun—iii (19b), iv (13a), ix (20b), xxii (2a), xxxv (35b),
xlii (38a, 39a).

Yud—vii (33a), xvi (41bc), xxxa (4a), xxxv (8c, 15b,
17c), xxxvii (39a), xlvi (13a), xlix (5a), lvi (57b),
lxxv (1a, 26a), lxxvii (4b), lxxx (21a), xciii (46b),
cxii (9a), cxiii (28a).

Utt—x (19a), xix (10a), xxi (52a, 59a), xxxi (13b),
xxxiii (37a), xxxvi (39a).

106. NĪLAKAṆṬHĪ = Pea-hen.

Sun—xi (23b).

107. PATAGA = A winged or flying animal, bird.

AK. 89/131. पतन्त्यनेनेति पतः पक्षः । पक्षैर्गच्छति पतगः ।

AS. 247. पतन् उड्डयमानो गच्छति, पतगः ।

Adi—iv (53b), xliii (16b).

Ara—xxiii (8b), x (27a, 32a), lii (15a), lvii (34b, 43a,
45b, 46b, 51a, 54b, 55a), lviii (23a), lxii (18a).
lxxv (20c, 28b, 33b, 35a, 36a).

Kis—xliv (25b), lxii (38b), lxiii (11a).

Sun—v (32a), lxxxi (2a).

Yud—xvi (86a), xxvi (25b, 36a), xlvi (122a).

108. PATAMGA = Any flying insect, a grasshopper, a bee, a
butterfly or moth.

AS. 2. 243. पतङ्गद्वयं फडिङ्ग इति ख्याते । “पतेरङ्गच् पक्षिणि”
इत्यङ्गच् । पतङ्गः ।

Adi—xiii (30a), xx (16b).

Ayo—xxv (32a), xxviii (14a).

Ara—xxxiv (13b).

Kis—lix (29a).

Sun—xxxviii (36b), lvii (27a), lxxxvii (10a).

Yud—xix (25b), xlv (33b), liv (53b), lxxvii (3b).

Utt—xxix (43b).

107 *Mbh.* (BORI), 1, 28, 22a.

108 *AV.*, vi, 50, 1; *Bṛhad. Up.*, vi, 1, 19 (*Mādhyamīna*, vi, 2, 14;
Kāṇva, 2, 14); *Chand. Up.* vi, 9, 3; *Uṇādi* (*Danḍanātha*), II, 2, 56;
Adbhuta Brā; vi, 5; *Mbh.*, v, 3933.

109. PATATRIN = Bird.

AK. 89/131. पतत्राणि विद्यन्ते येषु ते पतत्रिणः ।

AS. 2. 247 : (पतत्र) पत्रयोगात् पतत्रि-पत्रिणौ । अत इनिः ।

Uṇādi (Śveta), 4, 71, पततीति पतत्रिः पक्षो ।

Ara—xxi (21b).

Kis—li (17b).

Sun—xliii (18a).

Yud—lxiv (20b).

Utt—xxviii (24b), xxx (24a).

110. PATTRA-RATHA = 'Using wings as a vehicle'—Bird.

AK. 89/131. पत्राणि पक्षा रथोऽस्य पत्ररथः ।

AS. 2. 247. पत्रमेव रथ इवास्थेति पत्ररथः ।

Kis—xliv (93a)

Utt—vii (33b), xviii (25b).

111. PANNAGA = Serpent.

AK. 38/58. पदभ्यां न गच्छति पन्नगः ।

Adi—iv (53b), xiv (19a).

Ayo—xv (6b), xci (12b).

Ara—xx (29b), xxvi (22b), xxviii (12a), xxxii (18b),
xxxiv (16b), xxxv (12b), lv (3a), lvi (30b), lxiii (6b),
lxxi (24a), lxxvi (22b).Kis—v (8b), xvi (41b), xli (54a), xliii (53b), xliv (18a,
105b).Sun—iii (39a, 44b), vii (46b), viii (26a), xviii (46b), xx
(8b), xxii (29b), xxxi (55b), xlii (8a), xliii (21a) lix
(12a), xciv (17b), xcv (21a), xcvi (1b).Yud—iv (39b, 42a), vi (1b), xx (9b), xxvi (13a), xxxiv
(22a) xxxv (18c), xxxvi (30a, 31a, 76a), xxxvii (2a,
27a), xlvi (32b, 121a, 140a), li (76b), lxviii (17b),
lxxxii (1b), lxxxiv (30a), lxxxv (19a), lxxxvii (32a),
lxxxix (27b), xcv (15a).Utt—ii (8a), xxi (63b), xxiii (18b), xxvi (26a), xxviii
(24b), xxxi (32a), xxxii (3a), xxxv (42b), xxxvi (30a,
39a), civ (16b, 21b).109 *Ait. Up.*, iii, 3, 3; *Av.*, viii, 7, 24; x, 10, 14; *Mbb.* (BORI), 1, 2, 77.110 *Mbb.*111 *Mbb.* (BORI), 1, 12, 23.

112. PANNAGĪ = Female serpent.

Ara—xlv (18b).

Yud—iv (32b), ix (34b).

113. PARAPUṢṬA = Nourished by another. Kokila or Indian Cuckoo.

Ara—lxxx (29a).

Ayo—lvi (13a).

114. PARABHṚTA = Nourished by another, the Kokila or Indian Cuckoo.

AK. 128. परभृतः काकी पृष्टत्वात् ।

AS. 2. 234. विजातोयेन भृतः पृष्टः परभृतः ।

Yud—xv (9b).

115. PAŚU = 'Animal'.

["पश"] इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः । पशतीति पशुः चतुष्पदः ।

—Uṇādi (Kātantra), I, 15

Adi—v (5b), xiii (29a, 31a), lxiv (11b, 19a, 22b, 24b).

Ayo—xxxiii (19a), lxi (24b), lxix (22b), lxxxiii (36a),

cix (22b), lviii (10b), lxiii (10b).

Yud—xl (14a), lxxiv (37b), xcvi (14a).

Utt—xxiii (38b), xxviii (48b), lxiii (44a).

116. PAKṢIN = 'Winged' creature. Bird.

AK. 131. पक्षिः सन्त्यस्य पक्षी ।

Adi—xiii (30a), xxvii (12b), xxxiv (17a) xxxvi (15a), lvi (23a), lxxvi (10a, 11b, 13a).

Ayo—xxxiii (24a), xliii (33b), liv (9b, 13a), lv (20a),

lvi (31a), lxii (14b), lxviii (22a), xcvi (4b), c (63a),

ci (12b, 41a, 42b), cxi (50a), cxvii (9a).

Ara—v (5b), vi (9a), vii (3b, 5a), xii (13b), xv (3b, 43a),

xxviii (29b), xxix (14b), xxx (6a), xl (35b), xliii (39a),

l (58a), liii (10b), lvi (48a), lvii (1b, 3a, 7a, 12a, 48a,

112 Mbb. (BORI), 1, 92, 31a.

115 Tait. Sam., iv, 2, 10. 1-4; Kāth. Sam., xvi, 17; Mait. Sam., ii, 7. 17; Vāj Sam., xiii, 47-51; AV., iii 10. 6; Śat. Brā., ii, 8, 4, 16; Pañc. Brā., x, 2, 7; Uṇādi (Daṇḍanātha), 2, 1, 30.

116 RV., i, 48, 5; AV., iv, 34, 4; xi. 5 21; xii. 1. 51; Kāth. Sam., xxxiv. 8; Ait. Brā.; iv, 23; Brhad. Up., ii. 5. 18.

49b), lviii (2a, 14a, 29b), lxx (6b), lxii (5b), lxiii (35a), lxxv (14a), lxxv (3a, 24b, 34b, 35b), lxxvi (8b, 13, 18b), lxxix (21a), lxxxi (24b), xxi (5b).

Kis—xiii (11a, 20a, 46a), xvii (9b), xix (20b), xli (10b, 31a) xliii (53a), xlv (18a), xlix (6a, 13b, 17b), li (16b), lvii (7a), lviii (5b), lx (7a) lxi (23a). lxii (3a).

Sun—ii (10b, 34b), iii (39a), vii (61a), xii (39a), xvii (x0a), xviii (9a), xxvii (34a), xxxvi (37a), xxxvii (2a), xlv (17a), lvii (73b), lxix (3b), xcvi (28a).

Yud—iii (35a), xi (40b), xxxi (17b), lxxvii (12b), lxxxiii (89b), lxxxiv (26a), xci (29a).

Utt—xviii (31b), xx (14a), xlv (11b), lxxxiv (1b, 5b), lxxxv, (17a), xciv (15a), xcv (8b), cvii (25a).

117. PUNŚ-KOKILA = The male of the Indian Cuckoo.

AK. 128. कोकते चित्तं गृह्णाति ।

Ayo—cxi (49b).

118. PUTRA-PRIYA = Name of a kind of bird.

Ara—lxxx (23b).

119. PŪRṆA-MUKHA = A species of bird.

Ara—xxx (23b).

120. PECAKA (Kṛṣṇa—) = Owl.

AK. 86/127. पचति पोयते वा पेचकः ।

AS. 2. 229. पचत्येष्ट्युन्दस्यमिपच्योर लिष्ट्ये त्वं वक्तव्यम् । पेचकः ।

Yud—xxvii (31b).

121. PRṢATA = Spotted antelope.

AK. 86/126. पृषतो बिन्दुचित्रः ।

AS. 2. 223. पृषिरङ्गिभ्यां कित् इत्यतच् । पृषतः । 'पृषतो बिन्दुचित्रितः' इति माधवः ।

Ara—lxxviii (13b).

Ayo—cii (2a), cxi (48b).

117 Uṇādi (kā), 6, 46.

121 Uṇādi (kā), 3, 7, ("पृषु वृषु" पृषतीति पृषतः कस्तुरीमृगः ।

Uṇādi (Nārāyaṇa): सिञ्चति रेतस्तेकं करोति पृषतः मृगः ।

122. PRA-VĀLA (also, -bāla) = Coral.
 AK. 155/221. प्रवलते प्ल (प्र)वते वा-अबधेरुर्व प्रवालम् ।
 Ayo—xc (17b).
123. PRĀNĪN = Animal, including man.
 Adi—xli (29b).
 Ayo—iii (20b).
 Sun—lxxxiii (6b), lxxxix (17b).
 Yud—lxi (28a).
 Utt—x (16a, 20ab), xxv (9b, 16b, 21a, 22a), xxvi (33a, 41a), xxxviii (49b), lxxiv (4b), lxxix (7b), xc (13b), cvi (13a), cxi (16a).
124. PRIYAMVADA = A bird.
 Ara—lxxx (23b).
125. PLAVA = A kind of aquatic bird.
 As. 2. 248. प्लवः पिल इति ख्यातः ।
 AK. 89/131. प्लवते प्लवः ।
 Ara—lxxviii (7a), lxxxi (43a).
 Ayo—cxi (49a).
 Kis—li (12c).
 Sun—lxxxv (6b).
126. PLAVA-GA = Going by leaps or plunges, monkey.
 AK. 84/124. प्लवैर्गच्छति प्लवगः ।
 AS. 2. 216. प्रवप्लवौ गतिविशेषौ । ताम्यां गच्छतीति प्लवङ्गः प्लवगः ।
 प्रवङ्गः प्रवगश्च भुजङ्ग(म) भुजगवद् व्युतपाद्यौ ।
 Adi—iii (143b).
 Kis—i (2a, 6a, 8b, 21a, 30a), iv (10a), ix (8a, 94a), xii (27a, 47b), xiv (21a), xvi (12b), xviii (12b), xxi (2a, 11b, 38a), xxiv (9b, 12b, 18a, 24a), xxviii (31a), xxx (16b), xxxiv (16b), xxxviii (3a, 6a, 38b, 39a, 48a), xl (15a), xli (32b, 66b, 71a), xlv (4ab, 5b), xlvii (4a), xlviii (8a), liv (20b), lvi (13a, 19a), lx (3a), lxii (28b), lxiii (9b, 25a), lxiv (29a).
 Sun—(35b, 89a, 92a), ii (48b), iii (70b), vii (1a, 14b, 32a), viii (15b), xiii (15a), xvi (45a), xxix (36a),

xxxiii (18a, 21b), xxxv (31b, 39a), liii (6b, 17b),
liv (18b), lv (6a, 18b), lviii (3a), lix (13a), lxi (11a),
lxii (10b), lxxv (8b), xci (65a).

Yud—vi (22c), vii (26b, 27b), xiii (24b), xiv (17a),
xvi (33a), xx (2a), xxii (1b), xxx (9a, 29a), xxxb
(26b), xxxvi (112b), xlv (13a, 37a), xlvi (17a, 51b,
60b), xlix (56a), l (38a), lii (34b), liii (27a, 29b),
liv (40b), lvi (18a, 21a), lxxvii (5a, 21b), lxxviii
(12c), lxxxii (7a), lxxxiii (166a), xcix (28b, 39a),
cx (54b), cxiii (2a, 27b).

127. PLAVAMGA = Moving by jumps, monkey.

AK. 84/124. *श्रवैर्गच्छति श्ववङ्गः* ।

AS. 216.—see 126.

Kis—i (26b), iii (12a), xvii (6a), xviii (13b), xxi (3b),
xxiv (43a), xxv (37a), xxxi (18a), xxxiv (17a), xxxvii
(8b, 21b), xxxviii (38a), xxxix (39a), xliii (27b), xlv
(37b, 68b, 128b), xlv (9a), xlviii (5b, 14c, 15a), li
(2b, 22b), lii (40a), liv (21b), lvi (21a), lix (28a),
lxii (12a, 29a), lxiii (18a), lxiv (24a).

Sun—i (1a, 9a, 19a, 37b, 47b), iii (7b, 65b, 71b, 73b),
xxxv (33b), xxxvi (30a), xxxvii (1b, 2a, 22a), xliii
(16a), liv (5b), lix (15b), lxi (10a) lxii (3b, 4b), lxxv
(25a), lxxiv (35a), lxxv (3b), xciii (2b), xciv (4a)

Yud—i (7b, 8b), ii (8b, 12a, 40a), iii (39b), vi (13b),
xvi (37b, 46a, 58a, 95a), xvii (11a, 12a, 14a), xviii
(49a), xix (7b), xxvi (41a, 45b), xxviii (7b, 20a, 39b),
xxx (39b), xxxii (5b, 8a, 25b, 27b, 29a, 37b), xxxvi
(60a, 102a), xlii (10a), xlv (9b), xlvi (20b, 48b,
555b, 112b, 114b, 115a), xlvii (11a), xlix (30a,
33a, 36a), l (45b), li (36b, 40a), liv (4a), lvi (84a),
lix (2b), lxi (23a), lxii (3a), lxxi (57a), lxxii (2b),
lxxiv (14), lxxvi (56a), lxxxii (12a), lxxxiii (73a),
lxxxv (6b), xcvi (21b), xcix (16a, 17a, 32b), c (1a),
cxi (3b), cxii (21b), cxiii (87a).

Utt—xxiii (5b, 40a), xxxviii (92a), xl (9a).

128. BAKA = A kind of heron or crane.

AK. 88/129. वक्त्रि बक्रः ।

AS. 2. 237. 'बक्र कौटिल्ये' ।

Ayo—lxv (14b).

Yud—lxxxiii (71b).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

MISCELLANY

On some recent discussions relating to Ancient Indian Political Ideas*

In the course of his well-written paper entitled "*Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*" (*The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, March 1952, pp. 35-116 and June, 1952, pp. 294-349), a young Indian scholar, Dr. Viswanath Prasad Varma, has expressed his dissent from certain interpretations of the relevant *Arthaśāstra* and *Mahābhārata* texts by myself in my work on *Hindu Political Theories* (1st edition, 1923). These criticisms range around two principal points, namely (1) the relation of Politics to Theology, and (2) the separation of Politics from Ethics. In the present paper it is proposed to meet the author's criticism on both these points.

I *The question of the relation of Politics to Theology*

Quoting a reference (pp. 114-15) to *HPT* the author (p. 107) rejects a view which he attributes to myself, namely, that Kauṭilya raised *Arthaśāstra* to the dignity of an independent science by emancipating it from the bondage of Theology. Now the passage referred to by the author occurs in the chapter (Chap. II) of *HPT* dealing *inter alia* with the surviving fragments of the lost early *Arthaśāstra* works, while by contrast the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya forms the subject-matter of the following chapter (Chap. III). In the passage referred to, it was sought by me to form an estimate of the services rendered

* The following abbreviations are used in this paper: —

HPT = *A History of Hindu Political Theories*. By U. N. Ghoshal, 1st. Ed. 1923. [It is not understood why the author has failed to refer to the 2nd edition of this book which was published as far back as in 1927].

G = *Rāmāyaṇa* in Gaudīya recension. (Published by the Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House Ltd., Calcutta.)

NW = *Do* in North-Western Indian recension. (Published by the Research Department, D.A.V. College, Lahore).

S = *Do* in South Indian recension. (Published by Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay).

Mbh. = *Mahābhārata*. (Edited by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).

by the early *Arthaśāstra* authors to the cause of Hindu political ideas. In support of the statement that these authors emancipated Politics from the yoke of Theology, it was argued that "they made political speculation occupy itself for the first time with the phenomena of abnormal States as well as the normal monarchic State" and "that the criterion which they applied to their rules of public policy was the interest of the king and in one case even that of the individual minister". In view of the above facts the author's contention that "the basic notions of Hindu Theology and Religion (sic.) were all accepted by Kauṭilya" is altogether irrelevant and pointless, while the statement quoted above from *HPT* along with its arguments remains unchallenged. How much this tradition of independence was maintained by Kauṭilya in spite of his adherence to "Vedic Theology" is proved by a fact which is justly noted by the author in the same context. "Although Kauṭilya", he says (p. 108) "accepts the authority of the Vedas for social matters, in his discussions of kingship, war, diplomacy and espionage he does not quote the Vedic texts but discusses them in a non-theological vein".

II *The question of separation of Politics from Ethics*

In dealing with this question the author (p. 327) first quotes the following passage from *HPT* (p. 148):—"When we turn.....to consider.....the author's (Kauṭilya's) attitude towards religion and morality, we find him following in the footsteps of the early masters. We find him, in other words, frequently inculcating rules of a grossly unscrupulous nature on the plea of public interest and without the least pretence of moral disapproval. Thus Politics, distinguished as it is in the system of the *Arthaśāstra* as a separate science is, as before, further separated from the science of Ethics". The author (pp. 320-23) makes this quotation (along with a similar quotation from another Indian scholar) the text of an elaborate discussion of the ideas of Kauṭilya, Bhāradvāja (in *Mbh.* XII 138) and Bhīṣma (in *Mbh.* XII 128) on the subject. This concludes with the statement (p. 333) that "the problems of Kauṭilya, Bhāradvāja and Bhīṣma were different from the modern juxtaposition of politics and ethics" and that "they have to be understood in terms of Dharma and Dharma of distress". Beginning his argument in general terms the author (pp. 329-30) points out how the *Smṛti* conception of *Varṇāśramadharma* makes the problem of a

good man *versus* a good citizen meaningless, and that the Mīmāṃsā-Vedānta ideas tend to obliterate the notion of conflict between the temporal and the spiritual. Then he states that “Kauṭilya and the other writers” discuss the duties of the king “from this type of world-view”. Now without denying the significance of this general outlook of the ancient Indian thinkers, we have before us the unimpeachable fact that what was called the Kṣatriya science (or the Kṣatriya standard of duties) was early recognised as a dismal and immoral science not only in the Buddhist and Jaina canon but even in the orthodox Brahmanical canonical tradition. A passage in *Dīgha Nikāya* (I 9) includes *khattavijjā* in a list of “low arts” and “wrongful occupations” by which false ascetics and Brāhmaṇas (in contrast with the venerable Gautama) earned their livelihood. The full significance of this opprobrious reference is explained with devastating (if somewhat exaggerated) frankness in a few *Jātaka* texts. Thus in one place (V 228) we are told that the follower of *khattavijjā* held that one should gain his end by killing even his father and mother. In another passage (V 240) a sage not only repeats this view but expands it to mean that one may kill even his mother and father, his elder brother, his wife and children so that he may gain his object. The same view of the nature of “the Kṣatriya science” is authoritatively repeated, not once but twice, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In one place we are told how when Daśaratha at the bidding of Queen Kaikeyi decreed the banishment of Rāma, Rāma’s affectionate brother Lakṣmaṇa and his equally affectionate mother Kauśalyā advised him to disobey the old king and reign as Crown-Prince at Ayodhya. Rāma repudiated this advice gently but firmly in a speech which is of high significance as illustrating his view of the sharp contrast between *Kṣatratridyā* (or *Kṣatradharma*) and true *dharma*. Replying to Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma admonished him (II 11.49 G = 21. 49 NW & S) to give up this evil (*anārya*) resolution contaminated by *Kṣatratridyā* (G & NW), or resting on *Kṣatradharma* (S) and follow the true *dharma* involving obedience to Daśaratha’s command. Again we read that when Bharata repaireing to Rāma’s forest-retreat urged him to return to Ayodhya and reign as king, his request was backed by the sage Jābālī by strongly materialistic arguments. In the course of his reply (II 118. 19 G = 109. 20 NW) Rāma expressed his determination to renounce the *Kṣatradharma* “which is *dharma* in appearance

but is in reality its reverse" and "which is followed by mean, cruel, greedy and sinful men". By contrast Rāma mentions in the same context (II 118. 10 G = 109.10 NW) that the eternal royal behaviour (*rājaurtta*) compromises the virtues of truth and compassion, while the kingdom (*rājya*) is established upon truth. No words can convey more emphatically the sense of the gulf which in the author's opinion separates Politics from Ethics from the strict Brahmanical standpoint. After this it is unnecessary to comment upon such a text as that of the poet Magha (*Śiśupālavadhā*, II 30) which succinctly but emphatically declares *nīti* to be based upon a creed of pure self-interest. The measure of *nīti*, he says, consists in gaining one's own advantage and injuring the enemy. The odium in which the science of polity in general was held by later authors was shared by Kauṭilya who was undoubtedly one of its leading exponents. In the Jaina Nandisūtra (p. 391) (quoted by R. Shamasastry, Eng. tr. of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, 3rd. ed. Preface p. XIX) *Kodillaya* [i.e. the work of Kauṭilya] is characterised as a false science. More important than the above is a passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (ed. M. R. Kale, pp. 177-78) conveying in the form of the wise minister Śukanāsa's advice to Prince Candrāpiḍa a strong condemnation of Kauṭilya's teaching. What worthy object, it is there asked, can be achieved by those (kings) to whom the science of Kauṭilya, merciless because of its very cruel precepts, is an authority, whose preceptors are priests with hearts habitually hardened by the practice of black art, whose guides are ministers always inclined to deceive others, whose desire is centred on the goddess of prosperity that has been cast away by thousands of kings, whose false attachment is fixed on the destructive sciences, and to whom brothers with hearts filled with affection by natural love are fit objects to be slain? In the above extract it will be noticed not only is Kauṭilya's teaching condemned for its exceeding cruelty, but its followers are credited with the policy of deceit, sorcery and murder.

If the above arguments are to be accepted as correct, it would appear that the above-quoted statement in *HPT* p. 148, namely, that Kauṭilya, following in the footsteps of the early *Arthaśāstra* masters, separated Politics from Ethics, is substantially correct, notwithstanding the author's doubts to the contrary. Passing to the ideas of the individual thinkers the author (p. 332) observes that

Bhāradvāja refers to “the dharma of crisis” which is “certainly never the routine way of action” and that he forbids his measures to be used except for counteracting the machinations of enemies. Now it is an undeniable fact that the qualifying principle referred to by the author is completely ignored by Bhāradvāja in the texts quoted by Kauṭilya. Thus when considering the old *Arthaśāstra* problem relating to the king’s security against his sons, Bhāradvāja has no hesitation in advising (Kauṭilya I 17) that princes for whom their father feels no natural affection at their birth should be secretly killed. In another place (Kauṭilya, V 6) Bhāradvāja drops out even this specious plea of State-interest and frankly supports the selfish and unscrupulous ambition of a villainous *amātya*. When the king is dying, we read, the *amātya* may instigate the members of the royal household, the princes and the State-officers to attack one another: he may cause them to be slain by provoking the indignation of the subjects or else procure their assassination and he may then seize the throne for himself. The arguments in favour of this atrocious policy are of a piece with the above. Viewing statecraft merely as a sordid game for the gratification of self-interest, Bhāradvāja argues that for the sake of the kingdom (*rājya*) the father hates his sons and the sons their father, what then to speak of the *amātya* who is the sole prop of the kingdom? The *amātya*, therefore, should not throw away what has fallen of itself into his hands. The author further supports his view by a general argument drawn from an intensely selfish code of morals. Quoting the parallel of a woman making love of her own accord and cursing the man who repulses her, he says that opportunity comes only once to a man who is waiting for it, but it seldom comes again to him even when he may desire to do the work. The above extract, it will be seen, not only involves a deliberate policy of heartless cruelty and calculated treachery, but it also lacks the saving grace of appeal to the needs of the State. On the contrary the author parades his creed of unbridled selfishness and holds up the State itself as a standing example of its free play.

As regards Kauṭilya it is true that while inculcating his immoral statecraft he brings it in one place into relation with the king’s *dharma*. In his section (Book XIII) entitled *The means of capturing a fortress*, Kauṭilya describes in successive chapters a fivefold method of achieving this result. These methods, which suggest their unscrupulous

pulous character by their very titles, comprise creating disaffection among the enemy's partisans (ch. I), getting rid of the enemy by secret tactics (ch. II), setting spies on the enemy (ch. III), siege and assault (ch. IV). In the second chapter particularly Kauṭilya mentions how spies in various disguises are to entrap the hostile king and procure his assassination. Nevertheless Kauṭilya (ch. IV) concludes by observing that the king after conquering the earth in one of the four ways described by him shall maintain the barriers between the castes and the orders and follow the royal *dharmā*. A completely different line of argument is used by Kauṭilya (XI 1) while justifying the policy relating to the king's subjugation of *saṅghas*. Here the author mentions the various methods of diplomacy and force (including assassination of the leaders or their execution on trumped-up charges) by which *saṅghas* are to be brought under the king's control. Declaring the sole objective of this policy to be the consolidation of the king's authority, the author says, "Thus the king shall reign as sole monarch among the *saṅghas*". The objective of securing the stability of the ruling dynasty is the keynote of another line of policy advocated by Kauṭilya (V 1). Here the author describes the measures (including the assassination of culprits who cannot be put down openly), for the extirpation of thorns in the side of the king and the kingdom, or to put it more briefly, the enemies of the State. "Thus shall the kingdom", says Kauṭilya at the end, "be rid of all dangers from (culpable) men and shall adhere to the king's sons and grandsons".

It may be concluded from the above that the author's dictum (p. 333) that the problems of Kauṭilya and Bhāradvāja "have to be understood in terms of *dharmā* and *dharmā* of distress" is a rash generalisation based on insufficient examination of the available data. The author's application of this dictum to the *Rājadharmā* and *Āpaddharmā* sections of the *Mahābhārata* appears at first sight to be justified by facts. For as the very titles of these sections show, the teaching of statecraft is here presented as a branch of the king's (or kṣatriya's) *dharmā*. And yet a careful analysis of the *Mahābhārata* sections indicates the very elastic sense in which *dharmā* is understood in this case. In truth "the juxtaposition of Politics and Ethics" as well as other non-ethical standards, so far from being absent (as the author thinks) in the thought of the *Mahābhārata*, is pointedly and

Harṣa's Accession and Era

In a note published above, vol. XXVIII, pp. 280ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar has commented on the points raised by me (*ibid.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 321ff.) against his views on the subject in question (*ibid.*, pp. 183ff.). I shall examine the new points, now raised by Dr. Majumdar, one by one.

1. Dr. Majumdar says, "Even if we agree with Dr. Sircar that Hiuen Tsang did not know of Harṣa's death when he submitted his records to the Chinese emperor, the only reasonable conclusion seems to be that he regarded Harṣa as still alive, and the thirty-six years, given by him as the duration of Harṣa's reign, therefore refer to the year 648 A.D. when the records were submitted. When a man writes about the age of a friend who is presumed to be still alive, he naturally counts it upto the period of his writing, and not upto the day when they last met." But Hiuen Tsang was not writing "about the age of a friend" and had hardly any reason to presume Harṣa "to be still alive" or dead when he knew nothing on the point. Although the Chinese pilgrim has been accused of "an aptitude for belief which has been called credulity" and is regarded as "not a good observer, a careful investigator, or a satisfactory recorder" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 14-15), I think it rather unnatural even for him to imagine Harṣa alive in 648 A.D., when he knew nothing about the king after the beginning of 643 A.D. A statement of Ching Po (*loc. cit.*, p. 17) shows that the *Si-yu-ki* or the record of the travels of Hiuen Tsang was the result of reducing "to order the notes which he had written down." The work was "re-dacted" or "compiled" probably with the help of Pien-chi who is supposed to "have strung together Yuan-chwang's (Hiuen Tsang's) descriptions into a connected narrative" (*ibid.*, p. 2). We are also told that "the first draft of this work was presented to the Emperor (of China) in 646, but the book as we have it now was not actually completed until 648" (*ibid.*, p. 12). Under the circumstances it seems easier to believe that the statement regarding Harṣa's warfare for six years and peaceful rule for thirty years was taken out right from Hiuen Tsang's notes on the point apparently "written down" in

642-43 A.D. rather than that the duration noted down in 642-43 A.D. was first calculated to suit the year 646 A.D. and finally corrected to suit the year 648 A.D.¹

Let us take up for comparison another case of an exactly similar nature. Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* could not have been composed earlier than 1260 A.D.; but he had visited Lakhnautī or Gaur where he lived for two years between 1242 and 1245 A.D. During this period of his stay at Lakhnautī, he gathered certain informations (later utilised in his work) about the rule of the Sena King Lakṣmaṇasena as well as of his descendants who, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, "are still ruling in Bang". Now there may be a difference of opinion as to whether Minhājuddīn means to say that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena were ruling in Bang till the time when he gathered informations about them in 1242-45 A.D. or when he wrote down the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in or shortly after 1260 A.D. It is interesting to note that, in this case, Dr. Majūmdar accepts the possibility of both the alternate interpretations. Thus in the *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 226, he says that "Bang (i.e. Vaṅga or Eastern and Southern Bengal) was ruled by the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena even when that work (i.e. Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*) was composed." But in a foot-note to the above statement, he adds that Minhājuddīn "visited Lakhnawati between 640 and 643 A.H. (1242-45 A.D.) and it is just possible that his statement about Lakṣmaṇasena's descendants ruling in Bengal refers to this period." It will be seen that what Dr. Majūmdar considers possible in the case of Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* has been regarded by him as impossible in connection with Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki*. It may be pointed out that, considering the history of the Deva dynasty that ousted the Senas, I cannot think of Sena rule in East Bengal so late as 1260 A.D. (cf. my note entitled "Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* recently contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta).

¹ That calculations implied in the second alternative are even today not always resorted to can be illustrated by the fact that the *Vedic Age*, edited by Dr. Majūmdar and published in 1951, places the separation of Burma from India "ten years ago" (*op. cit.*, p. 76), although the separation actually took place on the 1st of April, 1937, that is to say, fourteen years before the book was printed.

2. Dr. Majumdar wrongly accuses me of rejecting the statement in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* that Harṣa was lord of India for thirty years and more at the beginning of 643 A.D. On the other hand, I have suggested that "lord of India" means a paramount ruler which Harṣa became after six years of warfare and not a petty chief which he was at the beginning of his career. As a petty chief of the eastern part of the Punjab, Harṣa had in his army only "5000 elephants, a body of 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot-soldiers"; but after six years, as an imperial ruler, he had an army consisting of "60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry" (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 213). Moreover, the *Si-yu-ki* clearly says that Harṣa ruled for sometime without assuming the title of king and ascending the throne (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 343; Beal, *loc. cit.*). The implication is that he assumed imperial dignity some (probably, six) years after the beginning of his rule. Thus the statement of the *Life* that, "succeeding to the royal authority", Harṣa was "lord of India for thirty years and more" by the beginning of 643 A.D. may actually refer to the date of his assumption of imperial dignity six years after he had begun his rule.

3. As regards the statement of the *Life* that by the beginning of 643 A.D. Harṣa completed five of the quinquennial assemblies at Prayāga (Allahabad) and was about to celebrate the sixth, I pointed out that the first of these assemblies could have been celebrated only after the consolidation of his power over the Allahabad region of the U.P., since as a ruler of the East Punjab, which he originally was, Harṣa had really nothing to do with Prayāga. Dr. Majumdar now shows that, according to Beal's translation, Śīlāditya held these assemblies "after the example of his ancestors," and thinks that this takes away the force of my argument, although he does not point out how Harṣa's ancestors, who were petty rulers of the East Punjab, could have held the assemblies at Prayāga that lay in the Maukhari empire far away from the boundaries of their own territories. On this point I can do no better than quote the views of the celebrated Indian Sinologist, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, of the Viśvabhāratī. Dr. Bagchi recently wrote to me, "Beal's rendering 'after the example of his ancestors' is not justified. The Chinese words mean 'following the former institutions, or dynasties, or traditions.' It will do if we translate the passage as 'following the traditions' and in this context

it would mean 'the traditions set up by princes of ancient times.' The context does not show in any way that the ancestors of Harṣa are meant here." Indeed it is a pity that neither Dr. Majumdar nor myself can claim any substantial knowledge of Chinese and Arabic although we are both trying to evaluate the evidence furnished by the works of Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni, which are written in these languages.

4. It is true that Hiuen Tsang, even if he was not "a satisfactory recorder", was a contemporary of Harṣa, while Alberuni, who was a great mathematician and astronomer and one of the greatest scientists of the ancient world², flourished four centuries later. But Dr. Majumdar's approach to Alberuni's evidence appears to me hypocritical. He seems to ignore the fact that this savant merely heard of the "Harṣa of 458 B.C." from some of the inhabitants of Mathurā and the country of Kanoj while he learnt about the "Harṣa of 606 A. D." from a perusal of the Kāshmirian calendar which was, it should be remembered, an astronomical treatise. Before proceeding further, we shall reproduce the passage from Sachau's translation: "The Hindus believe regarding Śrī-Harṣa that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was in its interior.... His era is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanoj. Between Śrī-Harṣa and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However in the Kāshmirian calendar I have read that Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information."

What Alberuni learnt from certain persons of the Mathurā-Kanoj region regarding the prevalence there of a Harṣa era commencing from 458 B.C. is undoubtedly wrong, as there is no evidence in favour of the existence of this era in any other source excepting this hearsay. We should also note that the Indians never used any era in dating their documents before the introduction of the so-called Vikrama Samvat of 58

² Throughout his work, Alberuni exhibits the well-known scrupulousness of a scientist; cf. his statements: "We ask God to pardon us for every statement of ours which is not true;" "I for my part do not know what to say about these things, as I do not believe them," etc. (cf. *Indo-Asian Culture*, vol. I, p. 91).

.B.C. (cf. *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 557 ff.). The persons from the Mathurā-Kanoj area, whom Alberuni happened to meet, must have played a trick on the foreigner by giving this false information. A similar but more serious trick played on foreigners is known from the well-known story of the *Ezour-vedam* (cf. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 13).

In my previous note on the subject, while quoting Alberuni, I wrote: "between Śrī-Harṣa (i.e. the Harṣa era) and Vikramāditya (i.e. the Vikrama era) there is an interval of 400 years" and "Śrī-Harṣa (i.e. the Harṣa era) was 664 years later than Vikramāditya (i.e. Vikrama era)" just to make Alberuni's sense clearer. I now find that Dr. Majumdar regards the inclusion of "(i.e. the Harṣa era)" after "Śrī-Harṣa" in the second of the above two passages as "highly objectionable—not to use a stronger expression, particularly as that is the very point at dispute", although he has nothing to say about the insertion of similar explanatory words in regard to the three other cases in the two passages. I am sorry to have offended him so gravely. But if "between Śrī-Harṣa and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years" means "between the Śrī-Harṣa era and the Vikramāditya era there is an interval of 400 years", as it certainly and unquestionably does, "Śrī-Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya" in the same author's language and in the same context must mean in my opinion, "the Śrī-Harṣa era was 664 years later than the Vikramāditya era." Unfortunately Dr. Majumdar believes that, although in the first passage "Śrī-Harṣa" means "the Śrī-Harṣa era", in the second passage the same expression indicates a king named Śrī-Harṣa. I am sorry that this interpretation does not appeal to my common sense. In the first place, a scientist like Alberuni could have hardly written: "king Śrī-Harṣa was 664 years later than king Vikramāditya," as the statement in that case would scarcely bear any sense. He could have of course said that the birth, accession or death of king Śrī-Harṣa was 664 years later than the birth, accession or death of king Vikramāditya; but he does not say anything of the kind. In the circumstances, I am not prepared to attribute a meaningless and foolish statement to a scientist of Alberuni's standard as Dr. Majumdar seems to be inclined to do. Secondly, Alberuni made the statement in question on the basis of an information gathered by him from the Kashmirian calendar which was an astronomical work dealing with

dates so that the mention of one or more eras is expected in it. It was not a story book, in which case the mention of kings could have been expected. In what connection may a calendar mention two different kings and state rather foolishly that one of them was 664 years later than the other? There can be little doubt that Alberuni found in the Kashmirian almanac corresponding years both of the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and the Harṣa era of 606 A.D., although he received a false report regarding the epoch of the Harṣa era from some people of the Mathurā-Kanoj region. Apparently he put just a little more reliance on the false report because the era called the Harṣa era was then in actual use, as reported to him, in the area about Mathurā and Kanoj. Thirdly, if Alberuni found in the Kashmirian calendar reference merely to a king named Śrī-Harṣa who flourished in 606 A.D. and not to an era commencing in 606 A.D. why does he speak of a "discrepancy" in the informations he gathered in regard to the epoch of the Harṣa era? He was certainly not such a fool as to think that, since there was a king named Śrī-Harṣa ruling in 458 B.C., there could not be another of the same name flourishing in 606 A.D. nearly eleven centuries later. It is clear therefore that Alberuni was "in perfect uncertainty" about the epoch of the Harṣa era because he received two conflicting informations in regard to the era, one from some people of Mathurā and Kanoj and the other from the Kashmirian almanac. In my opinion therefore Alberuni certainly mentions the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. in the second of the two passages referred to above and this era must necessarily be attributed to king Harṣa of Kanoj, who was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang who travelled in India in 629-45 A.D. and Pulakeśin II who ruled in 610-42 A.D. In the circumstances, speculations regarding the date of Harṣa's accession on the basis of the *Si-yu-ki* and the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* appear to be quite useless, especially in view of the fact, as shown in my previous note on the subject, that whatever the two books say on this point is not irreconcilable with Alberuni's evidence.

5. Dr. Majumdar credits me with several contradictory statements. I am however sorry to note that, in all these cases, I have been misunderstood. What I meant to say is that, in Magadha, Ādityasena was Harṣa's successor although he did not belong to the same dynasty and that he seems to have continued the use of the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. which was essentially the regnal reckoning of

Harṣa and grew into an era owing to its use being continued by rulers of the succeeding age. There are numerous instances of such a case of local conservatism; but it is impossible to believe that Ādityasena, who was an imperial ruler, adopted the use of the era of the rulers of Nepal as suggested by Dr. Majumdar. Of course the Shahpur inscription is a private record and shows that the people of Magadha were continuing the use of the Harṣa era during the reign of Ādityasena. All that Dr. Majumdar has said on these points is due to misunderstanding and its value should better be judged by impartial followers of the present controversy, to whom he also has appealed. Thus he asks why Ādityasena did not clearly refer the year 66 of the Shahpur inscription to the Harṣa era if he wanted to give Harṣa's reckoning the character of an era. I am sorry to note that he again forgets that the Shahpur inscription is a private record. But even if it were an official record of Ādityasena, no student of epigraphy could have normally expected the mention of Harṣa's name in it. It is well-known that, in the early years in the life of an era in ancient India, it was usually referred to as "the year" exactly as in the case of a regnal reckoning.

6. In regard to the persistent confusion of Harṣa with the traditional Vikramāditya, to whom the establishment of the Vikrama Sāmvat is attributed, I suggested that it was probably due to Harṣa having founded an era. Dr. Majumdar has tried to minimise the importance of this confusion and totally ignored the Nepalese tradition, according to which Vikramāditya visited Nepal and introduced his era in that country sometime in the first half of the seventh century.

7. Dr. Majumdar compares the difference in the attitude of some of us in regard to the question of the Harṣa era and to the problem of the origin of the Vikrama Sāmvat and remarks, "the very suggestion of a king Vikramāditya having founded the era of 57 B.C. is an anathema to those who do not hesitate to defend stoutly the Harṣa era of 606 A.D." In his opinion there is no reason to believe in the existence of the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. while there is some reason to accept the tradition regarding the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. by a king named Vikramāditya. I am sorry that I am unable to accept this proposition. While the Harṣa era is in my opinion quite clearly mentioned by Alberuni and is attributed by him to a date when a king named Harṣa actually flourished, it is impossible to

believe in the existence of any ruler bearing a title ending in *āditya* (such as *Vikramāditya*) before the fourth century A.D. It is again impossible to believe in the story of the foundation of the Vikrama Saṁvat by Vikramāditya in view of the fact that the era was originally known by different names having nothing to do with Vikramāditya, with whom it was associated about a millennium after its foundation exactly as the Śaka era came to be associated falsely with another hero of Indian tradition and folklore, named Sālivāhana (Sātavāhana), in the thirteenth century A.D.³ In connection with the foundation of the Vikrama Saṁvat, Dr. Majumdar is ready to accept certain late and bogus traditions of no historical value at all, although, in the case of the Harṣa era, he is unwilling to accept the logical interpretation of a passage of Alberuni, a great scientist, which is based on a scientific treatise, the Kashmirian calendar, on the supposed strength of doubtful interpretations of passages in Hiuen Tsang's *Records* and his *Life* none of which is remarkable for the exactitude of statements.

8. In conclusion Dr. Majumdar accuses me of not having read his paper carefully. He points out that it was not his object to prove that Harṣa did not ascend the throne in 605 A.D. or that he did not found an era, but that all he wanted to show was that there are not sufficient grounds in favour of these generally accepted suggestions. In my comments on the points raised by Dr. Majumdar in his first note, I tried, in my humble way, to show that he is mistaken and that there are good grounds in favour of both the suggestions.

D. C. SIRCAR

3 For the development of the Vikramāditya tradition, see H. C. Raychaudhuri in *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 483ff.

The Ancient Mālavas : Some New Royal Names

As all students of Indian History are aware, the Mālavas were one of the ancient tribes who flourished in North India even before Alexander's invasion in the 4th century B. C. Copious references to this tribe are found in the *Mahābhārata*. The existence of these people is not only attested by literary evidence, like the accounts of Greek writers and the *Mahābhārata*, but also by the finds of coins and seals mentioning them¹.

Lately were discovered two inscriptions, actually two copies of one of the same inscription, of a chief of a dynasty of rulers known as the *Mālava-vamśa* engraved on a *yūpa* pillar at Nāndsā in the Sahara District of the Udaipur State, Rajasthan. These records (A and B) have since been edited by Prof. Altekar in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVII, pp. 252 ff. with facsimiles. The learned editor, from the estampages of the inscriptions at his disposal, could not satisfactorily decipher the name of the Mālava chief who set up the records. He tentatively read his name as Śrī (?) Sōma. The parentage of this chief is furnished in the records, but here again the inscriptions being damaged, Prof. Altekar could only tentatively read some names which he takes to be those of the father and grandfather of Śrī (?) Sōma. I give below the text of this portion of the inscription as deciphered by him.

Inscription A lines 5 ff.

*Ikṣvāku-prathita-rājarsi-vamśe Mālava-vamśe prasūtasya
Jayanartana-Pu(Pra)rbbhā(bhā)gra (?)varddhana-pautrasya
Jayasōma-putrasya Sōgine [tuh Śrī (?)]-Sōmasy āneka, etc.*

The same text has been made out of Inscription B which is but a copy of Inscription A.

The translation of the passage is given by Prof. Altekar as follows:—

“Śrī (?) Sōma, the leader of the Sōgis, son of Jayasōma, grandson of Prabhāgra(?)varddhana, dancer at victory, born in Mālava stock, as famous as the royal stock of the Ikṣvākus”.

The records are dated Kṛta (Vikrama) year 282 (=A.D. 226). They are intended to commemorate the performance of the *Ekāṣa-ṣṭirāṭtra* sacrificial session by the chief, Śrī (?)-Sōma who it was that set up the *yāpa* pillar.

Since the learned editor of the inscriptions had himself expressed doubts as to the correctness of his readings of the names occurring in the records, except that of Jayasōma, I tried to arrive at a more satisfactory decipherment of the names in question. On a careful examination of several estampages of the records, I have arrived at the following text of the relevant passage :

*Ikṣvāku-prathita-rājarṣi-vaṁśe Malava-vaṁśe prasūtasya
Jayatsēna-naptur = [Bhṛgu] varddhana-pautrasya Jayasōma-
putrasya Sōginō Naṁdi-Sōmasy-āneka, etc.*

and translate it as follows :—

“Of Naṁdi-Sōma, of the Sōgi (*clan*) or (*gōtra*), son of Jayasōma, grandson of [Bhṛgu] varddhana, and great-grandson of Jayatsēna, born in the Mālava family a family of *rājarṣis* which became famous (*on account of*) Ikṣvāku.”

Now, the merit of this reading lies in that, while it very closely corresponds to the letters incised, it obviates the necessity of any restoration or correction whatever. At only two or three places the letters read are not clear in the impressions. They are *tsē* in *Jayatsēna*, *r* = *Bhṛi* in *r* = *Bhṛgu* varddhana, and *nō* in *Sōginō*.

Thus the eleven letters read by Prof. Altekar as

Ia ya na rta na pu(pra) rbhā(bhā) gra (?) va rddha na

are read by me as

Ia ya tsē na na ptu rbhṛi gu va rddha na

Further on, the seven letters read by him as

Sō gi nē [tuh Śrī (?)] Sō ma

are read by me as

Sō gi nō Naṁ di sō ma

A careful examination of the facsimiles published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, will, I believe, bear out the correctness of my readings proposed here.

The revised text herein given would thus bring to light for the first time some names in the ancient Mālava stock. We know of

a *Mālava-gaṇa* whose coins testify to this particular type of political organisation, viz., *gaṇa*, 'republic', as the one under which they flourished. But in the Nāndsā inscriptions we are introduced to a royal family going by the name of *Mālava-vaṃśa* existing in the *Mālava-gaṇa viṣaya*. Since they are termed *rājarṣis*, they may have to be assigned to the *kṣatriya* clan. What kind of relationship existed between this ruling dynasty (*Mālava-vaṃśa*), and the *Mālava-gaṇa* is not known. That this royal family was flourishing in the *Mālava-gaṇa-viṣaya* at least in the time of Nandi-Sōma if not earlier, is the most important fact disclosed in the Nāndsā inscriptions. It is also significant that no royal military or other title is attached to the names of any one of the four chiefs mentioned in the records. The only indication given in them is to the effect that they were a royal family being described as *rājarṣis*. Arranging these chiefs in a genealogical order we get

Jayatsēṇa
|
Bhṛḡuvarddhana
|
Jayasōma
|
Nandisōma

Of these, Jayatsēṇa recalls to mind another chief who bore the same name and who figures in an inscription² in a cave between Paṭhāri and Baḍoh, District Bhilsa, Gwalior. Here the chief is called *Mahārāja Jayatsēṇa*, as *Viṣayeśvara*. The record is in Gupta characters of about the 5-6th century A.D. It is highly damaged. It is therefore, 'not certain whether the inscription dates from the reign of *Mahārāja Jayatsēṇa* or goes down to that of one of his descendants as the words following *Jayatsēṇasya* are missing'³. At present it is not possible to connect Jayatsēṇa of the Nāndsā inscriptions with this prince. But what is, however, interesting is the occurrence of a historical name like Jayatsēṇa as in the Paṭhari inscription where the reading is clear.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State for 1925-26*, p. 12 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVI, p. 117 n.

³ *Ibid.*

Nandi-Sōma⁴ whose eulogy is engraved on the Nāndsā inscribed *yūpa* pillar must have been a very powerful chief. It is quite possible that the village of Nāndsā where his records are situated was founded by him and it was evidently his capital, the name Nāndsā itself providing the clue to this surmise. For, one cannot fail to recognise that the name Nāndsā might have been a popular or corrupt form of Nandisōma or Nandisōmapura.

A third inscription discovered at Nāndsā contains the eulogy of one *Mabāsēnāpati* Bhaṭṭisōma who is also described as a Sōgi. Prof. Altekar thought that he might be identical with Śrī (?) Sōma⁵. Now that the name Śrī Sōma is to be given up in preference to Nāndi-Sōma, the identity of Bhaṭṭisōma with this chief need no longer be laboured. It would appear that Bhaṭṭisōma was yet another member of the family of Nandisōma since he is also called a Sōgi. In view of the fact that the characters of Bhaṭṭisōma's record so very closely resemble those of Nandi-Sōma's inscription, it is not possible to say which of the two was the earlier in point of time.

M. VENKATARAMAYYA

4 It is this name that is adopted by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Sri N. Lakshminarayan Rao in the Chapter, *Epigraphical Research* (p. 188), contributed by them to the book, *Archæology in India* (1950), issued by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVII, p. 267. This inscription of Bhaṭṭisōma is fragmentary and is found inscribed on a broken piece of stone preserved in a room at the village of Nāndsā. It is stated locally that the stone fragment formed part of a pillar which originally stood only at a distance of a furlong from the *yūpa*-pillar of Nandi-Sōma.

Jivadāman-Rudrasimha Problem Reviewed

The date on a coin of Mahākṣatrapa Jivadāman (Coin 288 of *B.M.C.*) has placed before the scholars a knotty problem of history of considerable importance. It concerns with the relation between Jivadāman and his uncle Rūdrasimha I of Western Kṣatrapa dynasty. Late Bhagvanlal Indraji had read the date on this coin as 100, and the only doubtful point is whether or not a unit or a decimal figure or both may have vanished from the coin¹. The year of the issue of this coin is greatly circumscribed by the dates on the coins of his uncle Rūdrasimha I, issued as Mahākṣatrapa. His coins in this capacity are known of two periods, one between 103 and 110 and the other between 113 and 118 or 119. Therefore the date of the present coin may be either between 100 and 103 or between 110 and 113. It may also be dated in or after 119 or 120, when Jivadāman is known to have become a Mahākṣatrapa and issued coins.

Rapson held the view that the present coin was issued by Jivadāman in the period between 100 and 103 and supported his suggestion from the legends of the present coin and the coins that are known to have been issued by Jivadāman in 119-20. The two legends differ in the method of writing the names Dāmajada and Jivadāman. While the names on the later coins are written as *Dāmadajasa* and *Jivadāmasa*, those on the coin under discussion are spelt as *Dāmajadaśriya* and *Jivadāmna*².

This suggestion places the political situation of the period thus: After Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajada I his son Jivadāman was Mahākṣatrapa and his brother Rudrasimha I acted as Kṣatrapa upto 103, and in that year he revolted against his nephew Jivadāman and became Mahākṣatrapa. From this date Jivadāman was out of power till 110. Rapson presumes that he became a Mahākṣatrapa between 110 and 112. We have no coin of his as a Mahākṣatrapa during this period, but it is presumed that he was holding this high office, as his uncle was issuing coins during this period as a mere Kṣatrapa. Soon in 113 Rudrasimha again succeeded as a Mahākṣatrapa, snatching the power from Jivadāman and remained

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pp. 40-41.

2 *BMC.*, intro., p. cxxv.

in power till his death. On his death Jivadāman had a peaceful succession in 118 or 119. This shows a constant feud between the nephew and the uncle for power.

But this is not acceptable to Bhandarkar and Dikshit. They attribute the degradation of Rūdrasimha I between 110 and 112 to the usurpation of the power by Īśvaradatta Ābhira and doubt the Mahākṣatrapaship of Jivadāman during this period. They stress the possibility of a unit or decimal being out of the flan of the coin. As such, there was no feud between the nephew and the uncle, and Jivadāman had a peaceful succession after Rūdrasimha I in 118 or 119.

Dr. Altekar admits the possibility of a figure for unit or decimal, or both having disappeared from the coin. But he thinks that this possibility is altogether negated by the evidence of the features of the king portrayed on the coin. To him the features of Jivadāman, as shown on the coins dated 118-123 (*B.M.C.*, Nos. 289-291) are old-looking and careworn, showing that he must have been at least about 45 at that time; and on the coin 288 (i.e. the coin under discussion) Jivadāman is portrayed as an energetic, full-blooded person whose age could not have been more than 25 or 30 at the most (*INSI.*, vol I, p. 19.)

In support of his suggestion, Dr. Altekar has cited the portraits of Rudrasimha I and Rūdrasena I to show that the coins issued by them at long intervals indicate the difference in their ages. On the basis of portraiture, he is positive that Jivadāman was a Mahākṣatrapa during the period 100-103, when he was a young man of about 30.

But the evidence adduced by Dr. Altekar cannot be taken as conclusive on this problem. It is difficult to accept that Kṣatrapa mint-masters have portrayed the features of the kings so accurately from year to year as to warrant any conclusion about the age of the rulers at different periods. Even in the present age of developed mechanisation, we do not find the portraits of the kings being changed from year to year according to age they attain. We have the same portraits of George V and George VI on the coins during the whole range of their rule. We have only two portraits of Queen Victoria, for the whole range of her rule of more than half a century. And these portraits too have nothing to do with her age. Certain political changes necessitated the change in her portrait. In ancient times all the coins

were not made out of a single die, nor the dies were prepared by a single die-cutter. So difference of portraiture was inevitable. It is not possible to have similar portraits on all the coins of the same king, and even on the issues of the same year. The portraits on these coins were more or less conventional. This would be clear if the coins of Rūdrasena I, which constitute a long series with almost every year of his reign represented in it be examined carefully. It would show that the coins of the two consecutive years are quite dissimilar and have much difference in portraiture (compare the coins 336 and 338 dated 132 and 133 respectively, *B.M.C.*, pl. XII). On the other hand coins of periods widely separated appear alike (compare coins 334 and 358 dated 126 and 138 respectively, *B.M.C.*, pl. XII).

Thus this problem cannot be solved on the basis of portraits which are more or less subjective. Nor can it be solved on hypothetical assumption of the presence or absence of the unit and decimal in the date on the coin under reference. To solve this problem, we shall have to look for some direct, substantial and conclusive evidence in favour of one or the other suggestion.

To this effect I would like to point out to a fact, the importance of which has not been realised so far in this connection. The coins of the early Kṣatrapas show that all brothers succeeded one another as Mahākṣatrapas in order of their seniority; and only when they were exhausted, the next generation came into succession and followed the same tradition. We know Rūdrasena I, Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena were brothers and they ruled in succession. When all these brothers had ruled, the throne passed to the next generation. And we find here again Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī III, who were brothers, ruled in succession. Then the succession passed to their nephew Rūdrasimha II, the son of their brother Vīradāman. Rūdrasimha II was succeeded by his sons Viśvasimha and Bhartṛdāman according to the same tradition.

Another tradition is noticed in this period that the heir-apparent issued coins simultaneously with the coins of the Mahākṣatrapa, with the lesser title of Kṣatrapa throughout.

That these traditions did not begin with Rūdrasena I is clear from the fact that this ruler, who was the son of Rūdrasimha I, did not succeed him immediately, but his cousin Jivadāman came to throne,

being the son of the elder brother of Rūdrasimha. Only after him Rūdrasena came to the throne. Had it not been so, and had there been a feud between uncle and nephew, Rūdrasimha I would have contrived to secure the throne for his son after him. Or if he had failed to do so, Jivadāman, having succeeded him, would not have allowed the son of his rival uncle Rūdrasimha I to succeed himself. He would have nominated his son as heir-apparent and Kṣatrapa and we would have seen his son as successor and Mahākṣatrapa after him. Since we do not find any such thing, we may safely assume that Jivadāman followed his family tradition and allowed his nephew to succeed him. It is possible to argue that Jivadāman may not have had any son, but it would be begging the question in its worst form. It would be assuming a thing for which there is no evidence.

According to the tradition of succession discussed above, Rūdrasimha I was the rightful successor of his brother Dāmajada I and not Jivadāman. And actually we find Rūdrasimha I as a Kṣatrapa in 103 just before being a Mahākṣatrapa. This shows that he was a Kṣatrapa in the time of his brother Dāmajada I, being heir-apparent. This further shows that Dāmajada was alive till that year. Had the seat been vacant earlier, Rūdrasimha, as a rightful claimant, would have declared himself as a Mahākṣatrapa and would not have tolerated a lower rank of a Kṣatrapa under his nephew, the usurper, if we believe the theory of Messrs Rapson and Altekar.

In the light of the tradition of the succession, it is clear that Rūdrasimha I succeeded Dāmajada I in 103 and there was absolutely no struggle between Rūdrasimha I and Jivadāman. The latter was in all probability Kṣatrapa under Rūdrasimha I till 119 and had a natural succession after his uncle's death in that year. And then Rūdrasimha's son Rūdrasena was a Kṣatrapa under him. His coin of the year 121 issued in this position is well known. His earliest known date as a Mahākṣatrapa is 125. Till that date in all probability Jivadāman was the Mahākṣatrapa, though the coins of this period are lacking. The coins of Jivadāman as a Kṣatrapa are altogether missing, but that should not go against the present suggestion since we find Rūdrasimha himself in a lower position for some time between 110 and 113. Some political difficulties might have not made possible for Jivadāman to issue his own coins.

The Conquest of Gopādrī by the Kacchapaghātas

The Sās Bahū Temple Inscription of Mahīpāladeva of V.S. 1150¹. reveals the existence of a Kacchapaghāta family in possession of the Gwalior Fort and its environs in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Vajradāman, the second in descent from the founder of the family, has been credited with the capture and occupation of the 'Gopādrī-durga' from the 'Gādhinagarādhiśa', who has generally been identified with a ruler of the Imperial Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. Here I propose to discuss the status of the Kacchapaghātas in relation to the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Candellas, and also the date of the conquest of the Gwalior Fort by the Kacchapaghātas.

The following verse occurs in the Sās Bahū inscription : —

“Tasmād Vajradharopamaḥ kṣitipatiḥ Śrī Vajradāmā-bhavad-
durvār-orjitabāhu daṇḍa-vijite Gopādrī-durgge (yu) dhā/

Nirvyājain paribhūya Gādhinagarādhiśa pratāpodayain yad-vīravrata-
pūrakāḥ samacarat-prodghoṣaṇa dīḍimāḥ//” (V.6)

Trans. “From him (Lakṣmaṇa) sprang the illustrious prince Vajradāman, resembling the wielder of the thunderbolt. When by fair means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kānyakubja), his proclamation-drum fulfilled his vow of heroism in the fort of Gopādrī, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm².”

The verse thus clearly indicates that the fortress of Gopādrī was occupied by the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāman as a result of his victory over the ruler of Kanauj. The record, however, does not mention the name of the Gurjara Pratihāra king, who is thus claimed to have been defeated. The evidence of a Jain fragmentary image inscription at Suhanīyā, dated Śaṁvat 1034 (977 A.D.)³, mentions ‘Śrī Vajradāma’, who has been identified with Vajradāman of the Sās Bahū record. Thus the conquest of Gwalior must have been accomplished earlier than 977 A.D. The question naturally arises, who was the ‘Gādhinagarādhiśa’ referred to in the inscription?

1 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, pp. 33-46.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 36, 41.

3 *JASB.*, vol. XXXI, p. 411.

The records of the Gurjara Pratihāras would undoubtedly show that the Gwalior region including the strategic fort was in the possession of the Imperial rulers till at least 942-43 A.D. as evidenced by the Rakhetra Stone Inscription of Vināyakapāla, dated V.S. 999-1000⁴. In the circumstances it may be held that the Gurjara Pratihāras must have lost the fort of Gwalior to the Kachapaghātas some time between 944 and 977 A.D. Contemporary history shows that great confusion prevailed amongst the Gurjara-Pratihāras due to internal dissensions and fresh Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks⁵. It was during this period of turmoil that the fortress of Gwalior slipped out of their hands.

We have now to examine the statement made in the Khajurāho Inscription No. 2, dated V.S. 1011, which indicates the extent of Dhaṅga's territory in verse no. 45:—

“ā-Kālañjaraṁ ā-ca-Mālvanaḍī-tīrasthite Bhāsvataḥ Kālindī saritas
-taṭādita itopya Cedideśāvadheḥ/

ā-tasmād-api viṣmayaika nilayāt Gopābhīdhānagīreryaḥ śāsti kṣīti-
māyatorjita bhūja vyāpāra līlārjitaṁ//”

Trans. “He playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated on the banks of the river Mālava, from here also to the bank of the river Kālindī, and from here to the frontiers of the Cedi country and even as far as the mountain called Gopa⁶.”

From the verse quoted above it appears that two important fortresses of Kālañjar and Gopādrī were already included within the dominion of the Candellas by 954 A.D. The conquest of Kālañjar took place during the time of Candella Yaśovarman⁷, while that of Gwalior in the reign of his son and successor, Dhaṅga. Although after his conquest of Kālañjar, Yaśovarman became so strong that he is described as ‘sañjvaro Gurjjarānām⁸, yet nominal allegiance was

4 *ASI.* (1924-25), p. 168.

5 H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 588.

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 129, 134.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 133. Verse 31. Jagrāha Kṛḍayā...Kālañjarādrim!

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 132. Verse 23.

still paid to the Gurjara-Pratihāras⁹; but with the conquest of Gwalior, his son, Dhaṅga (c. 954-1002 A.D.) was in a position to declare himself as a sovereign ruler, as is evident from his subsequent records. The conquest of the Gwalior Fort by Dhaṅga cannot therefore be doubted. Moreover Dhaṅga claims to have inflicted a crushing defeat on a Kanauj prince, ('nikhila nṛpaṁ yaḥ Kānyakubja-narendram samara bhuvī vijitya prāpa sāmrajyamuccaiḥ/'...V.3, Mau Stone Inscription of Madanavarman)¹⁰, and it is not improbable that this defeat of the Gurjara Pratihāra Chief resulted in the further expansion of the Candella territory including the Gopādrī durga. Like the Sās Bahū record, the Mau Inscription also does not furnish the name of the 'Kānyakubja-narendra', who was defeated by Dhaṅga.

We have thus the evidence of the conquest of Gwalior by the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāman and again by the Candella Dhaṅga. This has given rise to a complicated issue. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests¹¹ that the Kacchapaghātas were at first feudatories to the Imperial Gurjara Pratihāras till they gained the mastery of the Gwalior Fort by defeating the ruler of Kanauj, whom he identifies with Vijayapāla (960 A.D.¹²). The sovereignty that they thus acquired, according to the same scholar, was short-lived, as they had very soon to yield to the rising power of the Candellas and acknowledge their hegemony.

But, as we have already shown, the 'mountain called Gopagiri' came to be included within the Candella State as early as 954 A.D. If the Candellas conquered it before 954 A.D., how could Vajradāman conquer it from the Gurjara Pratihāras? There is no evidence to show that the Candellas lost the Gwalior Fort to the Gurjara Pratihāras between 954 and 977 A.D., so that it might have been possible for Vajradāman to conquer it again from the latter. Hence it must be concluded that the Candella episode and the Kacchapaghāta episode connected with the conquest of Gopādrī are not separate stories, but that they refer to a single event in which the Candellas

9 *El.*, vol. I, pp. 129, 135, Line 29. 'Śrī Vināyakapāladeve pālayati vasudhām...'

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 203.

11 H. C. Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, pp. 822-23.

12 Rajor Stone Inscription of V.S. 1016. *El.*, vol. III, pp. 263-67.

and the Kacchapaghātas were closely associated together. In short, the Fort was occupied by Vajradāman for the Candellas.

The Sās Bahū Temple Inscription is dated in V.S. 1150 (1093 A.D.) during the time of Mahīpāla, eighth in descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the founder of the family. Counting backwards for six generations, from Mahīpāla to Vajradāman, taking 25 years as an average, we arrive at 940 A.D. for Vajradāman. One of the members, Padmapāla, is mentioned to have died young¹³. In view of the possible uncertain element in this method of calculation, we may hold that Vajradāman's career began in about 950 A.D. and ended in about 980 A.D.¹⁴.

Now with regard to the theory that the Kacchapaghātas were originally feudatories to the Gurjara-Pratihāras, it may be observed that first, there is no history of any contact between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Kacchapaghātas earlier than the incident resulting in the loss of Gopādrī. Hence, it will not be safe to conclude that they were originally feudatories to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In fact, there is nothing on record to show that they ruled over any territory before their conquest of Gwalior.

Regarding the position and status of the Kacchapaghātas subsequent to their occupation of the Gwalior Fort, it is generally assumed that they were under the Candella hegemony. The evidence of Nizāmuddin¹⁵, as found in his account of the invasion of the Candella dominions by Sultān Māhmud of Ghazni, shows that the 'Gwalior' Fort was included within the kingdom of the Candella Vidyādhara, and that it was under a 'hākīm'¹⁶, who surrendered to

13 *IA.*, vol. XV, pp. 37, 43. Verse 30. 'yuvaiva daiva pratikūlabhāvāt Suṅkrandan-āṅk-āsana-bhāg babhūva'.

14 Dr. H. C. Ray assigns to Vajradāman a reign-period of 20 years from c. 975-995 A.D. (*DHNI*. Vol. II. p. 835), and Dr. D.C. Ganguly from c. 977-999 A.D. (*History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 106., f. n. 1). But, as has already been shown, the Fort was under the Candellas during this period.

15 *Tabakāt-i-Zikbari*, vol. I, p. 14. (Eng. Trans. by B. De.).

16 'Commandant of the Fort' according to the translator of the *Tabakāt*. F. Johnson's Dictionary, *Persian-Arabic-English* (p. 461) mentions that a hākīm may be 'a commander, a governor, a judge, a magistrate or a name of God'. But A. N. Wollaston's volume of *A Complete English-Persian Dictionary*

the Sultān after four days of stiff resistance. This 'hākīm' was surely a Kacchapaghāta, and may be identified with Kīrttirāja. Had he enjoyed the status of an independent ruler the Muslim historian would not certainly have referred to him only as a 'hākīm'. The close association of the Kacchapaghātas with the Candellas is definitely proved by the passages concerning the services rendered by Kīrttirāja¹⁷ of this family, and Arjuna¹⁸ of the Dubkund branch of the Kacchapaghātas to the Candella king, Vidyādhara. So they do not appear to have any history prior to their occupation of the Gwalior Fort, which again was achieved for the Candellas. This must have laid the foundation of their vassalage.

The importance of the family however was due to its military skill and ability, of which there is so much praise in its records¹⁹, while there is very slight mention of their territorial power. The expressions 'kṣaṇipati' and 'kṣitipati²⁰', which casually occur in the

(p.492) clearly states that hākīm denoted the 'Governor of a city' and not simply of the Fort, the term for which is 'Qalāh-dār.'

17 Verse 10 describes his victory over the 'Mālava-bhūmipa', identified with Bhoja Paramāra. *Id.*, vol. XV, p. 36, 41-2. Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, pp. 824-25.

18 Line 12 of the Dubkund Stone Inscription of V.S. 1145. (*Id.*, vol. II, p. 237) describes Arjuna as 'Śrī Vidyādhārādeva-kārya-nirataḥ Śrī Rājyapālān haṭhāt kaṇṭhāsthī-chhidaneka vāṇa nīvahair hatvā mahatyāhave'.

19 The Sās Bahū Record—(*Id.*, vol. XV, pp. 36, 41).

(i) Lakṣmaṇa, the founder of the family is described as a 'kodaṇḍadhara' (wielder of the bow), and one who had by force extirpated mighty princes. V. 5.

(ii) Vajradāman has been equalled to 'vajradhara' (the wielder of the thunderbolt), and one who fulfilled the 'vīravrata' by successfully capturing the Fort. V. 6.

(iii) Military skill and efficiency of Maṅgalatāja and Kīrttirāja are also eloquently described in verses 8 and 9.

The Dubkund Record—(*Id.*, Vol. II, p. 238, l. 18). In addition to the description of the achievements of Arjuna, it refers to his son, Abhimanyu, whose mastery in the use of weapons and management of horses and chariots earned praise from Sri Bhoja Paramāra.

20 Verses 5 and 6. *Id.*, vol. XV, pp. 36, 41.

Sās Bahū record do not give any actual indication of their territorial possessions.

Thus it may be observed that the Kacchapaghātas were at first a clan of military chiefs; it was Vajradāman who defeated the Imperial ruler of Kanauj and captured Gopādri for the Candella prince, Dhaṅga in about 954 A.D., since when they held this important bastion of the Candella State as their vassal.

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Archiv Orientalni, vol. IX, nos. 3-4

ADOLF JANACEK.—*The Methodical Principle in Yoga according to Patañjali's Yogasūtras*. The significance of the preparatory stages and practices of Yoga is explained and the importance of the methodical approach in the system of Patañjali emphasised.

Journal of the Banaras Hindu University, vol. II, no. 1

AMAR CHAND.—*Kaliṅga in Buddhist Literature*. References in the Suttanta and the Jātaka texts as also in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Mahāvamso* show that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was in existence from a very early period.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 27, part II

GEORGE M. MORAES.—*Surat in 1663 as described by Fr. Manuel Godinho*. In course of his journey from India to Portugal on the 7th century, Godinho halted at Surat for a while. He has left a detailed account of the city and its inhabitants in his *Narrative of the Journey*.

M. HERMANUS.—*Were Animals first domesticated and bred in India?* Various types of Indian wild cattle and their tame descendants have been described in the paper. Cattle and sheep are the oldest domesticated animals and the first centre of their domestication might have been in India.

B. G. GOKHALE.—*Some Obscure Cults*. The *Niddeṣa*, a commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta* contains a list of obscure cults which have been classified here into five well-defined groups: [i] animal and mountain cults (*batthi*, *assa*, *go*, *kukkura*, *kāka*, *pabbata*, *Dhamagiri*, *Brahmagiri*), [ii] demonic cults (*nāga*, *gandhabba*, *asura*, *piśāca*, *yakkha*, *Mañibhadda* and *puṇṇabhadda*), [iii] the anthropomorphic cults (*candima*, *suriya*, *Mahārāja*, *disā*, *Brahmā*), [iv] the Vaiṣṇavite cult (*Vāsudeva*, *Baladeva*) and [v] the Śaivite cult (*Sivā*, *Kālīdevatā* and perhaps *asipāsā*).

- D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Ancient Kosala and Magadha*. The economic, political and religious conditions of the two ancient states of Kosala and Magadha and their conflicts with other kingdoms have been dealt with in the paper.
- H. HERAS.—*The Devil in Indian Scriptures*. Information about angels and demons is culled from a vast number of passages contained in the Indian scriptural works of *Śruti* and *Smṛti*.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland, 1952, parts 3-4**

- F. W. THOMAS.—*Notes on 'The Scythian Period'*. Various points of interest are discussed in respect of the Scythian Period of Indian history.
- H. G. QUARITCH WALES.—*The Pre-Indian Basis of Khmer Culture*. There is evidence to show that the Older Megalithic civilization had moulded the Khmer culture and art before they were influenced by the Indian elements.
- A. S. BENNEL.—*Wellesley's Settlement of Mysore, 1799*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XXI, part 4

- ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI.—*Maharana Udaisingh the Great*. Maharana Udaisingh, father of 'Rana Pratap' should be called 'the great' because of his innovation of guerilla tactics, and the selection of the strategic position between Rishabhadev and Kumbhalgarh, Devari and Sirohi which not only saved himself, but also helped others when they had to fight against the Mughals.
- H. D. SANKALIA.—*Viṭṭhala and Hari*. The writer is not inclined to admit that the image of Viṭṭhala at Pandharpur is a form of Hari and that it is of the Gupta or the Cālukya period.

Poona Orientalist, vol. XVI, nos. 1-4

- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Sanskrit as Lingua Franca*. Arguments are put forward for making Sanskrit a common national language of India.
- SIVAPRASADA BHATTACHARYA.—*The Doctrine of Lakṣaṇa and a Peep into its chequered History*. A treatment of *Lakṣaṇa* as a necessary entity of *Kāvya* is found in Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*. The nature

of the concept as understood by different authors of poetics has been explained and the stages of its evolution indicated.

BUDDHAPRAKASH.—*The Greed of the Mauryas*. Patañjali's remark in the *Mahābhāṣya* that Mauryas manufactured idols of gods for making money refers only to the time of Candragupta Maurya who was in need of financial recoupment by any means.

P. K. GODE.—*Chronology of Dharmapradīpa and Bhojavvyākaraṇa composed under the Patronage of Rao Bhojarāja of Kaccha—A.D. 1631-1645*.

S. K. GUPTA.—*Nature of Vedic Śākhās*. According to the writer of this paper, the different Vedic Śākhās are the results of attempts at simplification of the original Vedic texts. Thus they are in a sense the first explanations of the *Samhitās*, likely to be of immense value in interpreting the Mantras.

—.—*Authorship of the Phonetic Sūtras edited by Dayānanda*. A set of sūtras have been edited by Dayānanda Sarasvatī in his *Varṇoccāraṇasikṣā* under the name of Pāṇini. The genuineness of the sūtras is vouchsafed in this Note.

R. C. HAZRA.—*The Ekāmrapurāṇa, a Work of Orissa*. The *Ekāmrapurāṇa* conjectured to be a work of the tenth or eleventh century is a Śaivite treatise in seventy chapters written in Orissa. Contents have been analysed on the basis of a manuscript of the *Purāṇa*.

S. N. VYAS.—*Ascetic Attitude towards Women in the Rāmāyaṇa*. The epic contains scattered references to the failings of women.

J. K. JOSEPH.—*Was St. Thomas in W. Pakistan*. Evidence has been adduced in support of the present writer's surmise that the field of activity of St. Thomas, who preached Christianity in India in the beginning of the Christian era, was north Panjab and not south India. Marco Polo's Calamina, where St. Thomas is said to have been buried, could be Kalawan or one of the several Kalas in the Taxila region of the Panjab, and not a place in Mylapore.

BRIJ NARAIN SHARMA.—*Women in Bāna's Works*.

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No. 2

Position of Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

The institution of slavery was prevalent in most of the ancient societies of the world. In ancient India, the aborigines who were subjugated by the Aryans were called the *dāsas* or the *dasyus*. They were treated like slaves and were meant to serve the members of the Aryan society. In ancient Rome, the number of slaves, in the reign of Claudius¹, went as high as 20,832,000. In Athens,² there were 80,000 slaves as compared with about 40,000 citizens. No objection was ever raised against the open sale and purchase of slaves in numerous markets of Europe, prominent of the slave trade centres being Cyprus, Chios, Ephesus, Samos and Thrace. In China too, slavery was a recognised institution in pre-Christian centuries. The state gave a great impetus to the people in keeping private slaves. There was no prohibition in this field. Even the state depended on the services of the slaves. In 128 B C., state ranks were

ABBREVIATIONS USED:—

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| I. No. | =Rapson, <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein</i> |
| or | in <i>Ch. Turkestan</i> , Oxford. |
| KI, I-II-III | vols. I, II, III (Text only). |
| II. Trans. | =Burrow. T., <i>A. Translation of Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan</i> , (1940), London. |
| III. Language. | =Burrow. T., <i>The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan</i> , (1937), Cambridge. |
| IV. BSOS. | =Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London. |

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, XX, p. 775.

² Barker. E., *Greek Political Theory*, London, 1947, p. 31-32.

offered to the persons who agreed to give up their slaves to the state³. It was in the beginning of the Christian era that Emperor Wang Mang⁴ undertook social reforms including nationalisation, equal distribution of land and abolition of slavery.

The Huns in Central Asia kept a large number of slaves, captured as prisoners of war or objects of booty.⁵ These captured slaves were either killed or became the slaves of their Hunnish master⁶. Likewise Parthian chiefs (who were Central Asian nomads going under the name of Parnae in 3rd century B.C.) had become so aristocratic as to keep huge states and armies of slaves with them.⁷ Among the Scythians, one year after the death of a king, 50 slaves and 50 horses used to be slaughtered and placed round the royal tomb^{7a}.

The *K'haroṣṭhī*⁸ documents, from Chinese Turkestan, are a store house of information regarding the position of slaves and serfs in the early centuries of the Christian era i.e. from second to fourth century A.D. Different words have been coined for the slaves and the master viz., *dasa* (nos. 345, 491) or *dajha* (no. 569) or *dhajha* (no. 225) or *dajha-janina* (= *dāsa* or *dāsa-jana* in *Skt.*), *dajhi* (nos. 39, 45) or *dasi* (no 621) = *Skt.* दासी for male and female slaves and *bhaṭare* (no. 147) or *bhaṭaraga* (= *Skt.* भटारक) for the master. Proper distinction was made between a slave and a servant⁹, the attendant was addressed as *vaṭayaga*^{9a} or *vaṭhayaga* (= *Skt.* *Upasthāyaka*). This form was later on borrowed into the Khotanese language as *vaṭhāyaa*

3 Granet, Marcel. *Chinese Civilization*, London, 1930, p. 414.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

5 Similar was the condition in *R̥g Vedic* times in India and in Homeric days in Greece.

6 McGovern, W. M., *Early Empires of Central Asia*, University of North Carolina, 1939, p. 105.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

7a *Ibid.*, p. 56.

8 Discovered by A. Stein from Central Asian ruined sites of *Endere*, *Niya*, and *Loulan*. These 782 documents are on wooden tablets, leather and silk fragments. A few are on paper too [see *KI*, I-II-III; *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 111-25].

9 *Language*, p. 108. प्रेषि (= *Skt.* प्रेष्य) in the sense of a servant in our documents. Cf. *KI*, III, p. 358 Cf. *presht* as epithet of a person in no. 204.

9a i.e. doc. nos. 419, 576, 579, 581, 637; *Vaṭhayaga* in nos. 189, 594, 622; *Upastaga* in no. 387; *Vaṭhaye janina* in no. 189. *Vaṭaga* of no. 357 is suggested to be an error for *Vaṭayaga* [*Language*, p. 118].

(*Language*, p. 118). Dr. H. W. Bailey suggests comparison with some other words as later Khotanese *vakṣāyaa* (BSOS, XI, p. 791) or Khotanese *vakṣāyai*, *vakṣāyā*, *vaṭhāyai* [BSOS, IX, pp. 542-3, 537]. T. Burrow (BSOS, VII, p. 515), comparing with *vaṭāyaa* of Saka language and Tocharian *upasthāyak*, opines that the latter was borrowed straight from Sanskrit [cf. Pāli *upatṭhāka*, cf. *Trans.*, p. 79, doc. no. 387].

Certain documents (nos. 19, 54, 403) also refer to persons working on wages (परिक्रय) as well. These wage-earners were entitled to receive wages (परिक्रय), food (पचेवर) and clothing (चोडग) for staying in herds (no. 19). As regards slaves, they were given only food and clothing (i.e. भतचोडग in no. 506) for the question of wages did not arise in their case. Document no. 25 refers to 3 *milima* of corn as wages and 1 *milima*, 10 *khi* of corn as food for a guard (cf. no. 476). Also mention is made of porters (पृष्ठभारिणे = Skt. पृष्ठभारकाः, doc. no. 376) but no details are available about this class of people. The above state of affairs is reflected in the Jātaka literature as well [cf. Mehta R. L, *Pre-Buddhist India*, (1939), Bombay, p. 207ff, refers to *dāsa kammakaras* working in return for *bhataka*; also *dāsa bhatakasi sampañipati* in Aśoka's Rock Edict, IX as cited by Mehta, *ibid.*, p. 207, foot note 3; women living by virtue of wages, i.e. *paṇesaṃ bhatim katvā kicchena jīvamti* cited by Mehta, *ibid.*, foot note 6].

Functions and Duties of Slaves: —

In India^{9b}, in the age of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, slaves were employed to wash the feet of the honoured guests. Also sweeping before the doors, gathering and removing the leaving of food, ordure and urine, and rubbing master's limbs at his wish (cf. *Nārada*, V, 6-7) were some of the works reserved to be done by the slaves¹⁰. The documents under survey refer to slaves performing menial duties in the houses of their masters and working (*Kamaveti*, cf. *Language*, p. 50) in the farms or villages of their landlords¹¹. The position of

9b Cf. Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 211 for the functions of slaves in the *Jātaka* texts.

10 Ghoshal, U. N., *Beginning of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 92, n. 33; The male slaves tilled the land while the females used to perform domestic work in ancient Greece (*Encyclo. Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 773).

11 Cf. गोठकर्य assigned to a slave in doc. no. 31. Also *Trans.* p. 7; For

slaves working in the villages¹² of their master, away from their actual residence, needs comparison with Roman 'Quasi-Coloni' or 'Predial' Slaves (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 778). These slaves worked continuously for a considerable period i.e. 10 years (doc. no. 550) and 12 years (doc. no. 364). We do not know exactly about the actual term of service prescribed for a slave. Perhaps a slave could not dare to refuse work for his owner. Perfect obedience was expected from him¹³. There are certain references to the lapses of slaves when we find them defying the agreements made with their masters (doc. no. 764)¹⁴, and even refusing to respond to the orders of some high officials (doc. no. 550)¹⁵. The Spartan slaves were kept obedient by systematic terrorism.¹⁶

Behaviour of Slaves: —

Reference to obedience expected from slaves has been mentioned above. One of our documents (no. 709) points to a slave having picked up quarrel with some body. As regards the honesty and goodness of character of the slaves as depicted in these *Kharoṣṭhī* documents, we find them indulging in stealing movable property (textile goods¹⁷ in doc. no. 345) and animals (doc. no. 561). Stolen objects such as textile goods were sometimes recovered from the slaves (doc. no. 318). A dispute concerning theft was judged by the court (doc. no. 561) and three camels were ordered to be taken from the guilty slave. According to the prevailing law in ancient Anglo-Saxon society, if a slave happened to steal the property of a freeman, he had to pay twice the amount as compensation for the theft.¹⁸

reference to 'domestic slaves' in 2nd century B.C. China, see *Chinese Family and Society*, by Olga Lang, New Haven, 1946, p. 7; Parker E. H., *A Thousand years of the Tartars*, London, 1924, p. 11-2.

12 Doc No. 550....ग्रममि कमवेति ।

13 „ „ 31, तस वचनेन कर्तव्य न इ'चि तदे अतिक्रमिदवो ।

14 दम्भ जंन भटरगश न (ध) न विकरितग संन कटंति ।

15 दम्भ ग्रममि कमवेति...तस प्रचे द्विति त्रितिगत इमदे संदिशति न इ'चि इश अगच्छति.

16 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

17 Total value of goods thus stolen amounted to 100 *muli*, 1 *muli* being equal to one tenth of a gold stater [doc. no. 419 states that 1 gold stater + 2 *muli* = 12 *muli*].

18 Ghurye, G. S., *Caste and Race in India*, London, 1923, p. 134.

Condition of Slaves :—

By the original Roman law, the master was empowered with absolute control over the slave, extending to his life and death which is not surprising when we consider the nature of the 'Patria Potestas'.¹⁹ There was a clear cut distinction between a freeman and the one bonded to the chains of servilehood i.e. a slave. Plato refers to two different and opposite ways of treating the slaves among the Greeks, one being generous and the other brutal. According to the latter view, 'slaves should be firmly punished and not merely rebuked when they have done wrong and the master should always use the language of command and never of just.' (Plato's *Republic* 77E, 778C—quoted by E. Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 323, note 2, cf. *Politics*, I. 13). In ancient India, the condition of slaves in *Smṛti* literature shows on the whole as compared with the *Arthaśāstra*, a change for the worse.²⁰

The position of slaves, as depicted in our documents needs to be viewed in the light of their low status in ancient societies of the world.

(A) *Social Life :—*

(1) *Beating of slaves :—*Slaves seem to have been treated like dumb cattle and were even beaten to death²¹. It is nothing very surprising for we find references to the beating of slaves in the Buddhist period in India²² and in the times of Pedanius in Rome²³. In doc. no. 144, there is a reference to an enquiry (with oath and testimony) taking place with a view to find out whether the slave died as a result of severe beating and did not work after the injuries thus incurred. If it could be proved that actually he died of abnormal beating, compensation (doc. no. 144) was to be paid (perhaps to his master). Also slaves were being beaten and carried away (doc. no. 56). Only an adopted child was not to be treated as a slave (doc. no. 569 उनिदग न दम्न कडवो etc.).

19 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 775; cf. *Khaṇḍabāla Jātaka* as quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 90 note 23. 20 Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-9.

21 Doc. no. 144:—एदस दम्न तडित, तेन तडितगेन से मनुश कचन अठम दिवस मृद ।

22 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 125; *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 402, as quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 91, note 25.

23 Slaves being put to death, see *Encyclopaedia Br.*, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

(2) *Slaves being kidnapped:—*

Beating of slaves was perhaps a very common feature in Chinese Turkestan (doc. nos. 56, 324, 491). Often complaints were lodged against the slaves being beaten and carried away without payment of compensation²⁴ (लोते or लोट) while in Greece, 'a kidnapped person, if ransomed, became the slave of his redeemer till he paid in money or put in labour, the price of which had been given to him²⁵'. If a kidnapped slave, in Chinese Turkestan, returned to his original master, the kidnapper lost all claim over that slave (doc. no. 491).

(3) *Slaves being forced to work:—*

The Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan (Thomas in *JRAS*, 1934, p. 102-3) refer to a kind of slaves (i.e. *lhab bans* = slaves belonging to the temples) who, according to Thomas might be employed (कर्मवित्त, कर्मकारित = 'made to labour', of the *Kharoṣṭhī* Documents and the *Arthaśāstra*²⁶) on hire or lent out to the individuals. But no such information can be derived from the Niya documents.

(4) *Slave as objects of gift, exchange and sale:—*

There seems to have been no bar to the gift of slaves like eves and donkeys²⁷. A certain king (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, XXXIX, 8) gave away 10,000 female slaves and 10,000 elephants to a priest²⁸ [cf. Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 211].

In one of our documents (doc. no. 324) we find a slave not only being kidnapped but even being given away. The person accepting the slave as a sort of gift paid 2 gold staters and 2 drachms as recompense (प्रतिकर) of the slave who was further sold to the third party

24 Doc. 56—तडित अलोद ग्रहिद्. *Lote* (or *Lota*) has also been used as ransom paid by a slave for his freedom' (doc. no. 585) and 'exchange money' paid for having a wife, see *Language*, p. 115.

25 *Encyclopaedia Br., op. cit.*, p. 774.

26 Thomas. F.W., *JRAS*, 1934, p. 102-3.

27 *R. Veda*, VIII, 56, 3, cited by Kane P.V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Poona, 1941, vol. III, pt. I, p. 181.

28 *R. Veda*, VIII, 19, 36; *Taitt. Samhitā*, II, 2, 6, 3 cited by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 181; Also *Mahābhārata*, V. 86, 8 i.e. giving of 100 female slaves to *Kṛṣṇa* as a token of respect, see Altekar, A. S., *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Banaras, 1938, p. 254.

by the new master. A slave was just like a movable property to be transferred; sold or given away according to the whims and caprices of his master (doc. nos. 133, 143). He could be transferred for a value²⁹ of 110 *mulī*. Regular agreements of sale²⁹, purchase and transfer were made after which the purchased slave was never to be an object of claim between the two parties (doc. no. 345). Some centuries after the age of these *Kharoṣṭhī* documents, the price of a slave amounted to 8 weights of *dmar*³⁰ in Chinese Turkestan. In case the slave should run away, the former owner was bound to provide another slave of the same capacity³⁰. This was not the case in early centuries of the Christian era. Like 'sold slaves', those who were offered to somebody in exchange too could not be claimed back by the previous master³¹. The new master could easily exercise every control over the newly acquired slave. A run away slave could be purchased afresh by his previous master³². Why the question of fresh purchase arose, we do not know. In another document (no. 491) we have noticed that a kidnapped slave escaped from the clutches of the looters and returned to his original master who had all claims to accept him^{32a}.

(5) *Slaves in the eyes of law* : —

Our documents are silent about the right of slaves to seek protection against injustice and inhuman attitude of their masters towards them. We find the slaves being maltreated by state authorities (अहुनो दम्न सुठ दुख इश महत्वं च करेति in doc. no. 696). The matter somehow reached the ears of still higher authorities who sent specific instructions to check the evil but of no avail. There were instances (doc. no. 144) when justice was actually delayed in the murder case

29 In the *Jātakas*, the price of slaves ranges from 100 to 700 *Kāṣāpanas*, see Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 16; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, p. 76 quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 24; also Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

29a Cf. वस्तुअवन of doc. nos. 295, 296, 496 interpreted as "slave bazar" (Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 64, 79).

30 As depicted in a Tibetan Document from Chinese Turkestan, see A.H. Francke's article in A. Stein's *Serindia*, p. 1463.

31 Doc. no. 506.

32 Doc. no. 709; Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9 refers to the views of *Kauṭalya* and *Kātyāyana* prohibiting sale and purchase of slaves.

32a For slaves seeking opportunity to free themselves from the clutches of their masters in the *Jātakas*, consult Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

of a particular slave. It is very interesting to note that a complaint to this effect was lodged by the owner of the alleged dead slave. Perhaps the relatives of this unfortunate creature had no right to sue in the court. It was not the spirit of humanitarianism that led the master to seek justice for his slave but the utter greed to have something as recompense for his demised slave. Such was the miserable plight of this class in ancient societies of Europe too. In Rome³³, a slave could not accuse his master except of adultery or incest. An accused slave could not invoke the aid of the tribunes. The penalties of law were specially severe on slaves. In ancient China, no slave could marry a free woman.

It was in second century A.D. in Rome that victory of moral ideas as in other departments of life, became decisive. *Dio-Chrysostom*³⁴, the adviser of Trajan pronounced the principle of slavery to be contrary to the law of nature. Kidnappers began to be punished with death. Antonius Pius³⁵ punished one who killed his own slave. Already in the times of Nero³⁶, the magistrates had been ordered to receive complaints concerning ill treatment of slaves. A slave's oath could still not be taken in a court of law. For certain alleged offences of the master, the slave could bring an action, being defended by a representative. The rise of Christianity in the Roman world still further bettered the lot of these people as gleaned from the laws of Justinian. There are references when slaves attained eminent positions in their lines. A certain chief of the Tartar tribe was captured in war (302-4 A.D.) and sold as a slave. But the Chinese master *Li-Yuan*³⁶ appointed him as one of his generals. Similarly first of the line of 'Twan'-family (3rd-4th century A. D.) was a slave to a 'Wu-hwan' chief³⁷.

(6) *Right of adoption*:—

There was no bar for the slaves to adopt children in any way (doc. no. 39). Perhaps permission of the master while giving was

33 *Encyclopaedia Br., op. cit.*, p. 776.

34 Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Just reverse was the case in Sumerian society, see Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

35 *Encyclopaedia Bri., op. cit.*, p. 776; see note 4 above for abolition of slavery in the reign period of Emperor 'Wang-Mang' in China (9-23 A.D.).

36 Parker, E. H., *op. cit.*, p. 76.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

required and not at the time of accepting such a child. A slave woman gave her daughter in adoption (nos. 39, 45).

(7) *Right of Emancipation*: —

*Manu*³⁸ and *Nārada*^{38a} allowed slaves to seek emancipation from servitude of their masters, according to the latter authority, an emancipated slave's food could be eaten, his presents may be accepted and he may even be respected by the worthy persons [cf. *bhujissa*, a freed slave as cited by Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 211, footnote 4].

In Rome also, emancipation was facilitated. The emperor could confer liberty by presenting a gold ring to a slave with the consent of the master and the legal process called '*Restitutio Natalium*' granted him full rights of citizenship (*Encyclopaedia Br., op. cit.*, p. 776).

In a solitary Kharoṣṭhī document (no. 585) a slave seeks freedom after making some payment (as ransom or *lote mukeṣi* for his life). We are also informed that the ransom^{38a} paid was not proper. It was only after proper payment that the matter could be finally decided. Instances are absolutely lacking here when masters granted freedom to their obedient and honest slaves or when state came to their rescue in severing the tie of bondage.

(B) *Economic Life*: —

As with personal rights of the slave, so with the rights of property, *Kaṭalya*³⁹ (III. 3) allows the selfsold slave along with the born slave and the person pledged to retain what he earns without prejudice to his master's work and even inherit from his ancestors. In the same context, he permits the slave (acquired by purchase) to transmit his property to his kinsmen in whose default alone it should vest in the master. On the other hand, *Manu* (VIII. 416) lays down the remarkable dictum repeated later by *Nārada*, *Devala*, and

38 Quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 103 i.e. *Manu*, VIII, 14 and *Nārada* quoted in *Parāśarmādhava*, p. 347; for views of *Kaṭalya* see Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102; A note of humanitarianism sounds in the statement of *Āpastamba* (II, 4, 9, 11) when he says that one may stint himself, his wife or son to food but not a *dāsa* who does his menial work. See Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 87, p. 91 note 26; Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

38a For *lote* and *mukeṣi*, consult Thomas, *BSOS*; VI, p. 519 ff; *Language*, p. 115-6.

39 Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Kātyāyana to the effect that 'wife, son, and slave do not have property of their own, whatever they earn, belongs to the owner'⁴⁰. Same was the situation in ancient Roman society (*Encyclopaedia Br., op. cit.*, p. 775).

The documents under review tell a different story altogether, for slaves in Chinese Turkestan, during this period, were not suffering from any economic disabilities. We often see them seeking emancipation (doc. no. 585) by paying animals as part of ransom, receiving property (doc. no. 36), conducting sale and purchase⁴¹ (doc. no. 327) in lands and ^{41a} textile-goods as *kojavas* only and having large landed property in their personal possession (doc. no. 24, 327). According to a royal order, it appears that slave's property could not be touched by the master even in troubled times (doc. no. 33). If the master took a slave's property, the former had to return the same. Kings were also kind enough as to grant them land and houses (देवपुत्रस पदमुत्तदे गोठमुमलधग doc. no. 24). Also sufficient protection was provided against any encroachment made by their masters on such royal grants made for the slaves. Quite reverse was the case in Pyramid days in Egypt when slaves and serfs owned no land⁴².

As noted above, sometimes masters too helped their slaves in selling land (doc. no. 574; see foot note 41 above). Perhaps it was all just to facilitate a more paying bargain for the slaves. In a solitary document (no. 24), a slight reference to a loan of one horse (अश्प ऋन) given to a slave is also made. Under these circumstances, we can say with confidence that Central Asian slaves never remained pauper and penniless (अधनाः). They were far ahead of the times and never do we find them 'impelled by whip and fear, weeping with tears on their faces and still carrying the king's order'⁴³. They were duly provided with food and clothing (doc. no. 506) just like wage earners.

40 *Ibid*, quoting *Manu*, VIII. 416—भार्यापुत्रः दासश्च तस्य एवाधनाः स्मृताः । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ Also *Kātyāyana*, 'दासस्तु धनं यत्स्यात् स्वामी तस्य प्रभुः स्मृतः ; for some exceptions in *Smṛti* literature, see Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

41 Sometimes masters too conducted sale business of the property of their slaves (no. 574). In doc. no. 327, a slave is selling land to a slave.

41a It is really strange that hardly any document refers to slaves dressed in gala garments or making use of costly, textile goods.

42 Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 124 note 1, citing Breasted, (2), p. 67.

43 'Sūcī' was the state of affairs in India as referred to in *Puggala Paññati* (P.T.S. edition, p. 56) quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 91 note 25.

(C) *Religious Life* :—

In *Vinayapīṭaka* (quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 91 note 28), Buddha had forbidden admission to *saṃgha* to the unmanumitted slaves. Still we find them rising to the ranks of saints in the Buddhist⁴⁴ church.

It is a matter of great surprise when we find monks carrying transactions in slaves and leading a luxurious household lives⁴⁵, having sons and daughters, owning landed property, working as officers and scribes in the state department, etc. No wonder if such degraded monks (who called themselves भ्रमन = *Skt.* भ्रमण, Pāli समन very often) could keep slaves (doc. no. 345) and even become slaves (doc. nos. 506, 152). The community of monks at *Chadota* (i.e. Niya site) decided a case concerning some dispute about the exchange of slaves (doc. no. 506). Thus slavery acquired recognition even from the Buddhist *Samgha*. Then there was no harm if monks kept a team of slaves to work for them. Our documents are quite silent about the religious privileges and educational qualifications (if any) of the slaves [cf. slaves being permitted to read and write as depicted in the Jātaka literature, Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 210].

II. *Manuśa* :—In some of the documents, another type of persons of a servile status are referred to i.e. 'manuśa or mamnuśa = *Skt.* मनुष्य = man). Epithet *dajha* (slave) is conspicuous by its absence. If the documents be studied in their proper context, the two words *dajha* and *manuśa* seem to carry the same meaning. We find absolutely no difference between the status both of the slaves as well as of 'men belonging to somebody^{45a}'. The latter could be sold⁴⁶, purchased, given in exchange and gifted away like typical slaves.

44 *Therīgāthā*, P.T.S. edition, p. 123, as quoted by Ghoshal; *Theragāthā*, P.T.S. edition, p. 4.—as quoted by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 91 note 29.

45 Doc. Nos. 418, 419, 474, 553, 655, 621 etc. cf. my article 'Buddhist Monks in Chinese Turkestan' in *Lakṣmaṇa Sarup Memorial Volume*, Hoshiarpur, pp 157-83.

45a Burrow [*Language*, p. 78, s.v. *aviṃdhama*] rightly interprets *mamnuśa* of doc. no. 144 as "a slave". Actually here we find that person being addressed first as slave and later on as *mamnuśa*.

In doc. no. 437, a man belonging to the *kilme* of a certain person conducts sale transaction of a girl.

46 Doc. nos. 106, 130, 312, 322, 575, 591.

(1) *Sale and Purchase like property:—*

A man 'Chmaga' passed through many hands in a transaction of his own sale and purchase (doc. 575). Once (doc. no. 106), a certain king's man was sold to somebody. Since that man belonged to the king⁴⁷, he refused to work for the new master. This bold attitude on the part of a king's man is praiseworthy indeed. In doc. no. 130, reference to prohibition of the sale of a person (मनुश न विक्रिदिद्वो) is also made. Why such an order is passed, we do not know. Doc. no. 400 states the lot of a man taken to Khotan and his hands bound behind his back.

(2) *Ownership of the purchaser:—*

In doc. no. 591, the purchaser of the man is entitled 'to sell, to pledge, to exchange, to give to others as present and even to do whatever he likes with the latter. The sale agreement was also made to avoid any dispute in future. Anybody violating it was liable to be duly punished. A similar story is repeated in doc. no. 328.

(3) *Exchange like property:—*

There was a regular exchange of such persons between monks and officers (doc. no. 130) and between community of monks and laymen (doc. no. 322 cf. no. 187).

(4) *Men given on hire:—*

A certain person *Kamki* was given as a hire to *Jihmaya*. A written document was made to this effect (Doc. no. 312).

(5) *Men as portion of common property:—*

In doc. no. 256, the whole division of property was made by three persons leaving one man (Patraya by name) who formed the remaining part of the property. It was a difficult problem to be solved. Later on it was decided to exact labour from him for a fixed period by rotation-method [Cf. doc. no. 260].

47 i.e. अहु मनुश रयक तनु हुअमि seems to refer to the existence of 'State Slaves' perhaps.

III. *Fugitives*:—The fugitives^{47a} used to be handed over to the king (doc. nos. 156, 217 248 403). The king was fully entitled to give these persons to others⁴⁸ (perhaps as gift). This does not mean that fugitives were maltreated in any way. Instances are forthcoming when we find these people sympathetically treated by the king who was pleased to make awards of farm lands, houses and even seeds in order to enable them to make copious and plentiful cultivation (doc. no. 292 Cf. doc. no. 471).

IV. *Serfs*:—Discussing the words *rajade* and *kilmechi* (doc. no. 374),⁴⁹ Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 83) is of the opinion that “*rājya* was the land directly owned by the king whereas *kilmes*”⁵⁰ were fiefs or estates granted to the nobility of the realm”. “The titles of the people having *kilmes* under them seem to have been the most exalted as *Ogu*, *Chamkura*, *Kala* etc. None without a high title is addressed as having a *kilme*, so that ‘it is not just a case of ordinary landed proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching Feudalism’” (*Language*, p. 83).

A certain landlord, with an estate to his credit was wasting the meat and wine of his dependants (किल्मेचियन)⁵¹ at their expense day and night. He was leading a very luxurious life (doc. no. 358).

47a i.e. *palayanaga* or *palayamnaga*. Banishment or exile has always been a feature of Chinese Turkestan [Thomas, *JRAS*, 1934, p. 101-2] cf. our documents referring to Khotanese fugitives (doc. nos. 333, 403, 471) and fugitives in Loulan area (doc. no. 675). In modern Turkestani, *palā-māg*=to exile [Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 52, note 1].

48 Doc. nos. 296, 355, 403, 735. Sometimes fugitives were given in place of slaves as in doc. no. 296.

49 i.e. assessment of annual tax, both on crownlands and ‘those of field-holders’, cf. Burrow in *Trans.*, p. 75, doc. no. 374.

50 Cf. *Kilme* derived from Tokhari ‘*Kalyme*’=dist., see Burrow, *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 673-5; F. W. Thomas, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta, XI, p. 61, suggests connection with Greek word ‘*Klim*’.

51 According to F. W. Thomas, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta, XI, 1944, p. 61, “*Kilmechis* were serfs of rich men working on their local estates and certainly in connection with their farms, wine crops and sheep or cattle. Also, *kilmes* were not permanent establishments at all but encampments of retainers of great men sent out for profitable seasonal employment as cultivators, harvesters, gleaners and for other work. In doc. no. 621, a *kilmechi* is a potter. The case of *Chun-pa*’s field workers in Tibetan times may have been similar”.

In doc. no. 450, a tenant working in the farm of his master, was deprived of all the privileges which he was enjoying. The former was asked by his master to leave the place bag and baggage and return to the place where the master himself used to live. Poor fellow was thus ordered to shift with his mother, wife, sons and daughters to the new residence.

A certain person Vusmekā (doc. no. 532) was a *kilmechi* in *Yaveavana* (name of locality). Originally he belonged to *Chadota* from his father's side and to *Yaveavana* from his mother's side. He could not be employed in *Yaveavana* where only those persons whose fathers had been natives of the same place could be given work. Hence that person (from *Chadota*) lost all claims of getting any service in *Yaveavana* (inspite of the fact that his mother belonged to that area). On this basis Mr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 105) builds a theory that 'labourers or serfs, it appears, were more or less tied to the soil and not allowed to migrate from place to place'. Since only natives tracing their descent from father's side in a particular locality could be given services in that very locality, none except in rare cases, might have dared to leave his native place in search of any job elsewhere. Perhaps such a regulation was legislated in order to increase the number of local serfs, more loyal and associated with the welfare of that particular colony. This sort of restriction in matters of employment must have contributed a good deal to the efficiency and smooth working of the machinery of the area.

Such was the position of slaves and serfs in Chinese Turkestan. In some respects, the slaves here were far better placed than their fellow brethren in the neighbouring countries of the world.

RAJNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

Abhidharmakośakārikā (I. 1-8)

(with English Translation and Notes from Yaśomitra's Commentary)

यः सर्वथा सर्वहृत्तान्धकारः संसारपङ्काज्जगदुज्जहार ।

तस्मै नमस्कृत्य यथार्थशास्त्रे शास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्याम्यभिधर्मकोशम् ॥१॥

One¹ who has destroyed absolutely the darkness in regard to everything² and who has rescued³ the world from the mire of birth and death; to him, the Preacher⁴ of the Supreme Truth, I pay homage and compose the treatise Abhidharmakośa by name.

1 "Who" (*yah*) refers to the Buddha, Blessed one. He is Buddha on account of blossoming of his intellect; he is blossomed like a lotus. Or his ignorance and slumber are removed, so he is Buddha, i.e. awakened like a person awakened. Some say *karmakartari kta*. So Buddha is one who acquired knowledge by himself. Yaśomitra accepts *cta* in the sense of karman also. He is Buddha, well-recognised by all (other) Buddhas or persons as one who is endowed with the wealth of all virtues and as one who is freed from all vices.

The second qualification, "Bhagavān" is expressed with a view to remove the possibility of entertaining some dishonour towards the Buddha. Naming a person without a complimentary term generally implies dishonour in the world. But the authors of the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā* divide persons into four categories 1. One is a Buddha, not Bhagavān; e.g. a Pratyeka Buddha. In as much as he has acquired by himself the supreme wisdom, he can be called Buddha, but not Bhagavān as he has not fulfilled the grand preliminaries, charity, etc. A person can be Bhagavān only when he is in possession of majestic qualities (*māhātmya*). 2. One is Bhagavān but not Buddha; e.g. the Bodhisattva just before his becoming Buddha as he has fulfilled all the preliminaries, charity, etc., but not yet acquired the knowledge. 3. One is both Buddha and Bhagavān e.g. our teacher. 4. One is neither, e.g., other teachers. Therefore it is necessary to express the two terms in the Bhāṣya.

2 Yaśomitra justifying all the grammatical aspects of this compound in accordance with the Bhāṣya, explains its parts. *Sarvathā* = by

all means; *Sarva* = all knowable things such as 12 bases, etc. on the authority of a sūtra. Ignorance is darkness because it obstructs viewing of the truth. That ignorance is destroyed by acquiring an antidote. The defiling forces are enemies. The subject destructive of that forces is antidote (*pratīpakṣa*). Or pure knowledge is antidote to impure knowledge. Ignorance in respect of all knowable things is absolutely destroyed in such a way that it would not operate again (*asamudācāraprahāṇikṛta*). Therefore he is Bhagavān.

3 Thus so far the fulfilment of one's benefit is spoken of in this line *Sarvabātāndhakāra*. Buddha's conferment of benefit on others is indicated in the next qualification: "who rescued, etc." The worldly existence (*samsāra*) is described as mire (*pañka*) inasmuch as it is the object of attachment and hardly crossable without the help of a teacher. The Blessed one, taking mercy on the people embedded in it has rescued them by preaching the right Dharma. He rescued those persons who are worthy of receiving; this is to be understood. The worldly expressions like "feed Brāhmaṇs" would also imply likewise that only those Brāhmaṇs who are present here and in the city and capable of being fed, are to be fed.

Now Yaśomitra has discussed at length how the dative case in the expression *Tasmai namaskṛtya* should be justified.

4 He is the preacher of the supreme truth and not of the perverted one. Pūraṇa etc. are preachers of the perverted truth and not the Tathāgata. This qualification implies that he is in the possession of means to do good to others. He indeed rescued the world only by preaching that truth and not by the supernatural power, and granting the boon, or some other powers. Although Buddhas sometimes employ some supernatural powers (*ṛddhi*) towards the convertible people, they do so only with a view to drawing their closer attention to his preaching.

प्रज्ञामला सानुचराभिधर्मः तत्प्राप्तये यापि च यच्च शास्त्रम् ।

तस्यार्थतोऽस्मिन् समनुप्रवेशात् स बाधयोऽस्येत्थमभिधर्मकोशः ॥२॥

2. The term Abhidharma indicates the pure¹ wisdom accompanied by its satellites; and it also indicates a wisdom and treatise² which help us to gain that absolute truth. This treatise is called Abhidharmakośa; for, the whole contents of the Abhidharmaśāstra are embodied in this treatise or the whole Abhidharma work (*Jñāna-prasthāna*, etc.) has been made as the basis of this treatise.

1 *Prajñā*, wisdom. Dharmas, although operating simultaneously with it, are called *sabacara* just as a servant walking along with a king is termed his follower. Such dharmas are mind, mental properties, unsoiled abstentions (*saṃvara*) and the mental disassociates, *jāti* etc. The mind is the source of all the mental properties, hence *prajñā* ought to be a follower of the mind and not *vice versa*. It is true, but *prajñā* at the time of analysing dharmas behaves as a monarch. Certain dharma on certain occasion assumes prominence e.g. *Śraddhā*, faith, at the time of thorough believing.

2 Conventional abhidharma are wisdom and treatise conducive to that pure highest wisdom. This accessory soiled wisdom consists of four varieties: 1. *prajñā* due to hearing scripture. 2. due to reasoning, 3. due to concentration, and 4. natural obtained at the time of birth. These four, while pertaining to *ārūpya* plane, constitute an adhidharma of four skandhas, as there is no *rūpa* accompanying them. While pertaining to *rūpa*-plane, they constitute an abhidharma of 5 skandhas, as there is a meditative discipline (*dhyānaśaṃvara*).

The true verbal meaning of the term, *abhidharma* is this: Dharma is so called because it retains *śvalakṣaṇa*. The supreme dharma is Nirvāṇa or Dharmalakṣaṇa such as Svalakṣaṇa and Sāmānyalakṣaṇa. Definition of earth-element is solidity—this is Svalakṣaṇa. All is impermanent and misery—this is the Sāmānyalakṣaṇa, general characteristics. What is directed (*abbhimukha*) towards acquiring, penetrating, realising or introspectively knowing that supreme Dharma is called Abhidharma. This compound is to be reckoned grammatically under the *gatisamāsa* varieties: *abbhimukho dharmah = abhidharmah*.

धर्माणां प्रविचयमन्तरेण नास्ति क्लेशानां यत उपशान्तयेऽभ्युपायः ।

क्लेशैश्च भ्रमति भवार्णवेऽत्र लोकस्तद्धेतोरत उदितः क्लिष्टेऽशास्त्रा ॥३॥

3. For the cessation of all defiling forces (*kleśa*) there is no other means than analytical knowledge (*pravicaya*) of all dharmas. The whole world¹ rotates endless in this ocean of birth and death by force of these *kleśas*. To provide a means to put an end to this state of affair the Leader has, they say², preached this Abhidharmaśāstra.

1 *Bhava*, worldly existence is similar to the ocean, because they both are places of plunging. The term, *atra* is used in order to deny *bhava* as distinct from what is constituted of five impure skan-

dhas that are visible to us. The world turns in this by assuming its own identity with this. The expression of the Self as substratum (*adbikaraṇa*) by way of identity is common; e.g. the garden in the palāśa trees (*palāśeṣu ārāmaḥ sthitah*) etc.

2 *Kila*. This indicates that it is the opinion of others, i.e., Ābhidharmikas, and not of ours, Sautrāntikas. We hear of the authors of the Abhidharma Sāstras thus: Āryakātyāyanīputra is the author of the Jñānaprasthāna; the elder Vasumitra of Prakaraṇapāda; Devaśarman of Vijñānakāya; Ārya Śāriputra of Dharmaskandha; Ārya Maudgalyāyana of Prajñaptiśāstra; Pūrṇa of Dhātukāya; Mahākauṣṭhila of Saṅgītiparyāya.

सास्त्रवानास्त्रवा धर्माः संस्कृता मार्गवर्जिताः ।

सास्त्रवा आस्त्रवास्तेषु यस्मात्समनुशेते ॥२॥

4. Dharmas are divided¹ into two, *sāsrava* (endowed with sinful flows) and *anāsrava* (endowed with no sinful flows). The composite (*samskṛta*) dharmas excepting the Path are called *Sāsrava*²; because the sinful flows always reside in them.

1 Division of dharmas into *sāsrava* and *anāsrava* is a brief statement of dharmas. Similar statements may also be made of dharmas as *samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*, *rūpin* and *arūpin*, and *sanidarśana* and *anidarśana*, etc. Elaborate statement of them will be the subject-matter of the whole treatise. Such a brief statement is undertaken in order to delineate what is conducive to impurity and what is to purity.

2 How are they (composite things) *sāsrava*? If they are so because of *samprayoga*, contact with *āsravas*, the impure mind and mental phenomena alone will be *sāsrava*. If a thing is *sāsrava* on account of *āsrava* arising simultaneously with the thing, the five impure skandhas of the living being who has defiling forces, desire, etc. actively operating will be alone *sāsrava*, and not the skandhas of other living beings, nor the external things. If those things which are bases of *āsravas* are *sāsrava*, the six internal bases alone will be *sāsrava*. If the *sāsrava* is such a thing which is the supporting, *ālambana* of *āsravas*, the two truths *nirodha* and *mārga* also will be *sāsrava*; the higher plane of existence will also be *sāsrava* as it is the *ālambana* of the *āsravas* of that plane. Therefore the author says: "Because the sinful flows, *āsravas*, etc.". "They reside, *anuśerate*" means: they secure stability in them. The desire, etc.

securing stability therein flow continuously. Others interpret *anuśerate* as "remains suitably" *pathya, anugunībhavati*. This sense is well understood in the expression: *anuśete mama ayam ābārah*, this food is suitable to me.

अनास्रवा मार्गसत्यं त्रिविधञ्चाप्यसंस्कृतम् ।

आकाशं द्वौ निरौधौ च तत्तत्काशमनावृतिः ॥५॥

5. *Anāsrava*¹ dharmas include the noble truth of the path and three² uncomposite dharmas: ether and two suppressions (*nirodha*). The ether³ is an element which neither obstructs any material object, nor it is obstructed by such an object.

1 The objection being put, viz. the statement अनास्रवा मार्गसत्यम्, etc. need not be expressed because the idea of the passage is obtained by circumstantial evidence (*arthāpatti*). Ācārya Guṇamati says:—It is to be expressed for this reason: There are two paths: mundane and supramundane. The statement is aimed at specifying the latter. That is why the term *mārgasatya* is used. The well-known, i.e., mundane path may be cognised through the circumstantial evidence, and not the other, i.e., supramundane which is not a well-known dharma. The uncomposite thing, *asamskṛta* is also not a well-known dharma.

Other Ācāryas say that a thing which is known through the circumstantial evidence is again expressed in order to remove the doubt that there is a third category. Just as there are three varieties of feeling, *sukha, duḥkha*, and *aduḥkhāsukha*, so dharmas also may be considered as of three kinds: *sāsrava, anāsrava, sāsravānāsrava* or *na eva sāsrava na anāsrava*. So one may doubt whether dharmas negated by the circumstantial evidence are *anāsrava* alone or *sāsravānāsrava* or neither. One may possibly assume that there is a *sāsravānāsrava* dharma. According to the Vaibhāṣikas' way of thinking (see V. 32) the internal matter, the eye, etc. and external matter, the material objects are *sāsrava*, influenced by passions, on account of such passions only residing in the eye, etc. The passions being abandoned, the eye, etc. (of the holy person) become free from *āsrava*. They are again *sāsrava* in view of *āsravas* existing in the stream of other persons. Similarly in the scheme of Dārṣṭāntikas' thinking the eye, etc. of an Arhant and the external material objects are free from *āsravas* on account of their being no bases of *āsrava*; and they are also *sāsrava* in so far as they do not serve as antidote to the *āsravas*.

Thus the state of being *sāsrava* and *anāsrava* is alternately attributed to the eye, etc. of the Arhant and hence arises the doubt as stated before. In order to remove this doubt the author says: *Anāsravā mārgasatyam, etc.* The path, etc. are solely *anāsrava* and not alternately.

One may ask: No possibility of supposing the third category (as stated before) may arise in view of the statement in compound: *Sāsravā-nāsravā* dharmāḥ, etc. No, one cannot be sure of it; because the compound may be interpreted to be an *ekakṣeṣanirdeśa*, omitting the word of the third category, *sāsravānāsrava* in the compound in accordance with the Pāṇini rule (VII. 4, 82).

Other interpreters explain that the idea is indeed well-understood in circumstantial evidence; nevertheless the author repeats the statement in order to elucidate the point understood. An example may be cited from Pāṇini's system of grammar. The usage of the compound of the qualifying terms with the terms qualified is well established in the Sūtra II. 1.57. The subsequent enumeration of specific terms with one put in a juxtaposition (*samānādbikaraṇa*) is only an elucidative statement.

2 The number "three" is stated with a view to limit the number of the uncomposite elements. Some philosophers e.g. Vātsīputriyas hold that the uncomposite thing is only one, viz. Nirvāṇa. The Vaiśeṣikas view the innumerable atoms as uncomposite things. The author specifically states three *asaṁskṛtas* in order to refute those opinions.

3 Ākāśa, ether. Etymological sense of the term is: *avakāśam dadāti* "that which accords space"; or *bhṛśam asya antaḥ kāsante bhāvāḥ* "things very well shine within the compass of this ether".

Anāvṛtiḥ = *anāvaraṇam*. The suffix here employed may either be a *Kartṛsādhana* or *Karmasādhana*, that is a dharma which neither obstructs other dharmas nor is obstructed by them. The ether is not merely in the nature of non-obstruction, but it, being unperceivable, is to be inferred, because it neither obstructs nor is obstructed by other things. The same idea the author puts in the expression: *Yatra rūpasya gatiḥ*.

प्रतिसंख्याननिरोधो यो विसंयोगः पृथक् पृथक् ।

उत्पादालयन्तविघ्नोऽन्यो निरोधोऽप्रतिसंख्यया ॥६॥

6. To separate impure dharmas taking one by one¹ is a sup-

pression obtained by comprehension of the Truths, (*pratisaṅkhyā nirodha*²). The other suppression which consists in an absolute obstruction to the origination of the impure dharmas of the future, is *apratisaṅkhyā nirodha*³, a suppression obtained by non-comprehension of Truths, and is due to lack of causes of origination (*pratyaya-vaikalya*).

1 The characterising of *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha* as *Viśam-yoga* does away with the notion of disappearance due to impermanence and of suppression by *apratisaṅkhyā* from the scope of this definition. *Viśam-yoga* is a separation of *kleśas*, defiling forces. A dharma which serves as impediment against the approach of *kleśas* is termed *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha*. *Pratisaṅkhyāna* is the comprehension of the four Truths, *duḥkha*, etc. and so it is the same as pure transcendental wisdom (*anāśravā prajñā*), and not mundane wisdom. It is a species of *prajñā*, i.e., a *prajñā* obtained in the path subsequent (*anantara*) to the removing of *kleśas*. The suppression obtained by this *prajñā* is termed *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha*.

The *Vaibhāṣikas* hold that the *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha* is a substantial entity because it is counted in the enumeration of four truths.

2 *Prṭhakprṭhak* = *nānā* = various. There are as many separations as there are substances capable of being joined (*saṃyogadravya*). The compound "*Samyogadravya*" may be parsed as *Samyogāya dravyāni*, "Substances ready for joining or *Samyogāśca dravyāni*, joint substances". They are no other than substances endowed with *āśravas*.

3 The negation in *apratisaṅkhyā* is a *praśajyapraṭiśedha*, and so the sense will be: The suppression is obtained not by *Pratisaṅkhyā*. Or it may be a *paryudāsa* negation, i.e. the lack of causes which is other than *pratisaṅkhyā* i.e. *apratisaṅkhyā* and thereby obtained suppression *apratisaṅkhyānirodha*. One may object that it is improper because the lack of causes is a vacuum and has no function. This objection is to be answered that it is spoken of metaphorically as having a function. Or by *apratisaṅkhyānirodha* is intended a simple otherness from *pratisaṅkhyānirodha*; hence no question arises whether the lack of causes has or has no function. The disappearing of a thing due to impermanence is regarded a suppression not of origination of dharmas but of the existence of dharmas and so it is not the said suppression. The term *atyantam*, "absolutely" denotes that the suppressed state of mind (*asaṃjñisamāpatti*) is not overlapped

by this suppression; because it is a temporary obstruction to the mind and mental phenomena and not absolutely.

ते पुनः संस्कृता धर्मा रूपादिस्कन्धपञ्चकम् ।

त एवाध्या कथावस्तु सनिःसाराः सवस्तुकाः ॥७॥

7. The composite dharmas above stated are the same as five groups of elements, *Rūpa*¹, etc. They are also termed as duration, *adbuan*², subject matter of talk, *kathāvastu*³, liable to rejection *sanihsāra*⁴, and possessing the cause in themselves, *savastuka*⁵.

1. *Rūpa* etc. This excludes other 5 groups: *Śīla*, *Samādhi*, etc. Five objective things, *rūpa*, etc. are excluded by the term, groups.

The term, *Saṃskṛta* is explained: *sambhūya kṛta*, "causes being put together, the effect is produced". The causes for production are at least two (vide IV. 65). The implied significance of the term is brought out by example of the similar term *Dugdha*. Speaking properly what is squeezed from the breast is *dugdha*, milk. What remains in the breast of the cow should not be termed *dugdha* in the true sense of the term. But that also is called *dugdha* in the world. Similarly what will be produced by the combined causes, i.e., liable to origination in future, or what will not be so produced, i.e., not liable to origination is also called *Saṃskṛta*, because of its similarity of *Svalakṣaṇa* with truly *Saṃskṛta* things.

2. *Adbuan*. The terms *adbuan*, etc. employed in the *Sūtras* as synonyms for the five groups. This being understood in the worldly sense is to be taken in relation to three points of time.

3. *Kathāvastu*. By this term the same composite things are understood on the authority of a scriptural passage cited. *Kathā* = Speech; its object is the name which denotes the composite things. *Nāman* is a part of the *Saṃskāra* group. How can then the term *Kathāvastu* denote composite things? The composite things implied in the *Kathāvastu* by taking the word, *vastu* in the sense of *nāman* combined with its content (*artha*). On what principle does *vastu* imply its content also? *Kathā* has two objects, immediate and remote. The former is the name and the latter its content. The uncomposite thing is not spoken of by the *Kathāvastu*; for, it being above the range of time deserves no company with name which falls within the range of time. Or take *vastu* in the sense of cause or in the sense of both cause and condition. The uncomposite thing

being no cause and condition does not become *kathāvastu*. Or the composite things, past, present and future are fit to be described as having various qualities, e.g., there was a Tathāgata Dīpaṅkara by name of such and such qualities; there will be a Tathāgata, Maitreya by name of such and such qualities; there is a king Kap-
phiṇa by name of such and such qualities. The uncomposite things on the other hand cannot be spoken in that way and hence are not *kathāvastu*.

4. *Saṃhāsa*. Every composite thing culminates in Nirvāṇa, with no residue. Impure things may collide with Nirvāṇa, but what about the Noble truth of the Path? It also deserves rejection on the authority of Buddha's declaration = *Kolopamam dharma-paryāyam*, etc. "Those who realise the dharma-paryāya as resembling a boat should reject even the righteous way of life and not to speak of unrighteous way of life. Therefore all the composite things are liable to rejection.

5. *Savastuka*. The term *vastu* is etymologically explained thus: वसन्ति अस्मिन् प्राक् कार्याणि पश्चात् तत् उत्पत्तिः So *vastu* = *hetu*, cause. The scripture has *vastu* in 5 senses: *svabhāva*, *ālambana*, *saṃyojanīya*, *hetu* and *parigraha*. In the present context *vastu* is to be understood in the sense of *hetu*, cause. This is the opinion of others as indicated by the word *kila*. In the opinion of the author *Savastuka* is *svabhāva*, possessed of characteristic nature, i.e., all composite things. Uncomposite things are *avastuka* = *asvabhāva*, as they exist only in convention (*prajñaptisat*).

ये सास्त्रवा उपादानस्कन्धास्ते सरणा अपि ।

दुःखं समुदयो लोको दृष्टिस्थानं भवश्च ते ॥८॥

8. What dharmas are possessed of sinful flows are called also *Upādānaskandha*¹ and *saraṇa*², endowed with defiling forces. They are also known as miseries³, causing⁴ factors of miseries, susceptible to destruction, *Loka*⁵, sources of wrong views, *Dṛṣṭisthāna*⁶, and becoming *Bhava*⁷.

1. *Upādānaskandha*. Skandhas being produced from upādāna are called *Upādānaskandha*. This is a compound with middle term *sambhūta* dropped, just as the compounds like तृणामि, तुषामि, etc. Some commentators take it as a genitive compound = *upādānānām skandha*, similarly *trṇāgni*, *tuṣāgni*.

What dharmas are regarded as constituents of a living being are upādānaskandha, because they have the deed as the cause, *karman* manured by defiling forces. The external things are also produced by upādāna = *karman* (vide IV.1). Or skandhas are submissive, *vidheya* to upādānas like *Rājapuruṣa*, a man submissive to the king, so is upādānaskandha. Or it simply implies that upādānas arise from skandhas. The explanation of the compound is to be made thus: Skandhas causing upādānas are upādānaskandhas like *puṣpavṛkṣa*, *phalavṛkṣa* = (पुष्पाणां फलानां वा हेतुवृक्षः). Skandhas of an Arhant are effected by upādānas pertaining to other persons' *santāna* and those upādānas arise from those skandhas, thus the nature of their being upādāna is not vitiated.

2. *Saraṇa*. Raṇas are defiling forces. Those which hurt themselves and others are *raṇa* = battle. Skandhas are *anuśayita* i.e., served by *kleśas* or they are *anusayita*, because they are made possessed of *anuśaya*. The compound, *Saraṇa* is to be explained just like *Sāsrava*, previously glossed.

3. *Duḥkham*, because they are regarded by Āryas as quite unfavourable to holy life.

4. *Samudaya* is that from which arises misery. The causal skandhas are *samudaya* and the resultant skandhas misery.

5. *Loka*. Sūtra says: In this body of *vyāma* length I declare there is a *loka* and *lokasamudaya*. The Buddha explains it etymologically thus:—लुज्यते प्रलुज्यते तस्मात् लोकः। The verbal root here is *lujir* = *naś*, not *loki* = *drś*.

6. *Drṣṭisthāna*. The wrong view about the soul and its belongings i.e., five skandhas.

7. *Bhava* which denotes *Sāsrava* dharmas alone which are the five upādāna skandhas.

Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa*

130. BALĀKĀ = Crane.

AK. 88/19 बलाहकान् कायति बलेनाकति याति वा बलाका ।

AS. /240. स्वल्पबकजातौ बलाकाद्वयम् । 'वल वल्ल संवरणे' ।

'बलाकादयश्च' (उ० ४११४) इत्याकः ।

Ara—lxxviii (15a).

Yud—lxxxiii (71b), xci (25a), xciii (48a).

131. BARHINA = Peacock.

AK. 89/130. बर्हमस्यास्ति बर्हिणः, फलबर्हाभ्यामिनन् ।

AS. 2/245. बर्हयोगाद् बर्हिणः ।

Ayo—xlix (3a), lxv (14b), cii (18a).

Ara—viii (4a), xxvi (22a), liv (64b).

Sun—xvii (10b), liii (13a).

Yud—xv (9a), xlvi (105a), liv (19a), lxxxi (30a).

Utt—1 (22b).

132. BIDĀLA = Cat.

AK. 85/125. विशन्-आलात्याखून्-विडालः, विलालो वा । बिलान्य-
लति पर्याप्नोति वा, बिलति भिनत्ति-आखून्वा, विड् आलस्याशुचित्वाद्वा,
विड आक्रोश इत्यस्माद्वा ।

AS. 2/219. विड आक्रोशे ।

Ara—liv (63c).

Utt—vi (53b).

133. BHADRA = A particular kind of elephant.

AK. 149/213. भन्दते भद्रः ।

Adi—vi (26a).

134. BHADRA-MANDA = A kind of elephant.

Adi—vi (27a).

135. BHADRA-MRGA = A kind of elephant.

Adi—vi (27a).

* Continued from p. 63 of vol. XXIX, No. 1.

130 *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 3, 4; *Tait Sam.*, v. 5. 16. 1; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv, 22, 23.

133-5 भद्रा हिमालयपर्वतजाताः, मन्दा विन्ध्यपर्वतजाताः, मृगाः सहायपर्वतजाताः, तेषामन्वयैर्वशैः । 'भद्रा मन्दा मृगाश्चेति विज्ञेयास्त्रिविधा गजाः । क्रमेण हिमवद्विन्ध्यसहायजाः' । (रा०—टिप्पनी, १५७) ।

136. BHARADVĀJA = 'Bearing speed or strength (of flight)'—A Skylark.
 AK. 127. भरद्वाजापत्यं भरद्वाजोऽस्यस्य वा भरद्वाजश्चाटकेराह्यः ।
 Ara—lxxx (23b).
137. BHĀSA = A bird of prey, Vulture.
 Ara—xx (19a).
138. bHĀSĪ = Female vultures.
 Ara—xx (18a, 19a).
139. BHUJAGA = Going in curves, i.e. snake.
 AK. 38/58. भुजेन कौटिल्येन गच्छति भुजगः ।
 Sun—ii (11b), v (34a), xv (17a, 19c), lxxv (29b).
 Yud—cx (40a).
 Utt—xlii (40b).
140. BHUJAGĪ = Female snake.
 Ara—lxi (15b).
141. BHUJAMGA = Serpent.
 Ayo—xvii (1a).
 Kis—v (16b), lxii (36a).
 Sun—xi (13b), xxiv (26b, 27b), lv (17b), lvi (3b), lxxv (29b), lxxx (20a).
 Yud—xlvi (91a), li (88b), liii (48a).
 Utt—vi (44b), xviii (22b), xxiii (14a), xxxi (59a), xxxviii (114b).
142. BHRAMARA = A large black bee.
 AK. 89/130. भ्रमति भ्रमरः ।
 Ayo—lvi (13b), cxxv (9a).
 Ara—lxviii (16a), lxxxi (17a).
 Kis—xlix (14b), li (30b).
 Sun—xiv (24b), xviii (16b), xxii (35a).
 Yud—iii (34a), xv (10a).
 Utt—xlv (11a).
143. BHRṆGA-RĀJA = Bee-king, species of large bee.
 AS. 2/244. भृजो गन् प्रत्ययेन भृङ्गः ।
 AK. 80/130. भृजति बिभर्ति वा भृङ्गः ।

137 *Adbhuta Brā.*, vi, 8. *Apast.*; *Mbh.*, *Harivaṃśa*.

138 *Mbh.*, *Harivaṃśa*.

143 *AV.*, ix, 2, 22; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 8; *Vāja Sam.*, xxiv, 29.

Ayo—cv (12a).

Ara—lxxxi (13a).

Sun—xvii (9a), xviii (20b).

Yud—xv (11a).

Utt—xlv (11b).

144. MAKARA = Marine monster.

AK. 64. माकुर्यात्किचिदिति तस्यन्यस्मान्मकर ।

Ayo—xlvi (3a), cii (13b), cxxiv (22a).

Sun—ii (11a), vii (38a), ix (1a), xvi (23b), xxxii (29b),

lxxv (31a), xciv (5b, 11a, 13a, 18a, 19a), xcvi (18a).

Yud—lxxviii (6b), cix (15a).

Utt—vi (45a), vii (3b), xxi (6a, 35b).

145. MAṆḌŪKA = A frog.

AK. 43/65. मण्डति मण्डते वा सरो मण्डकः ।

['मण्डकः शोणभेकयो'रिति भूरि०]

Kis—xxxiv (23b).

Sun—lxxx (19b).

Utt—xxxi (9a).

146. MADHU-PĀ = A bee.

Utt—xxv (27b).

147. MAŚAKA = Mosquito, gnat, any fly that bites or stings.

Ayo—xxv (32a), xxviii (14a).

Utt—vii (3a).

148. MAHĀ-GAJA = Grown elephant.

Ayo—ix (5b), xxv (33a), lxxi (16b).

Utt—xx (30b, 34b, 37b).

149. MAHĀ-DHURYA = A full-grown draught-ox.

“गुरुभारवहनक्षमो बलीवर्दः ।” (८८०)

AK. 214. (धुर्य इ०) धुरं वहति... ।

Ayo—xi (10b).

144 Tait. Sam., v. 5, 13, 1; Mait. Sam., iii. 14, 16; Vāja. Sam., xxiv. 35.

145 RV., vii. 103. 1; x. 166. 5; AV., vii. 122. 2; Tait. Sam., v. 4. 3; Mait. Sam., iii. 13. 2; Pañca. Brā., xii 4. 16; Nirukta, ix. 5; Moh. (Mac.). Seal 45; Kath. Sam., xiii. 1; xxi, 7; Vāja. Sam., xxiv. 36; Śata. Brā., ix. 1. 2. 20.

146 Amara Kośa, सिंहादिवर्गः, ३०

147 AV., vii. 56. 3; xi. 3. 5; Mait. Sam., iii. 14. 8; Vāja. Sam., xxiv. 29; Brhad. Up., i. 3. 24; Chand. Up., vi. 9. 3.

150. MAHĀ-SARPA — Great snake.

AK. 58. सर्पति सर्पः ।

Ayo—xx (2b).

151. MAHIṢA = Buffalo.

AK. 85/125. महति मद्यां शेते वा महिषः ।

AS. 218. 'मह पूजायाम्' । अविमह्योष्टिषत् (उ० १।४४) । महिषः ।

Ayo—xxv (33b), lxv (20a), cvi (4b), cviii (4b), cxi (48a).

Ara—xv (4b), lxxvi (17a).

Kis—xlix (13a).

Sun—xv (40a), xviii (30a).

Yud—xv (18a), xxxvii (31a, 78b).

Utt—xx (19a).

152. MAYŪRA = Peacock, cock.

AK. 73/130. मीनात्यहिं मयूरः ।

AS. 245. 'मय गतो' । मयूरनवकं मयूरे । 'खर्जिपिञ्जादिभ्य उरोलचा'
(उ० ४।६६) । मयूरः ।

Ayo—xlvi (11b).

Ara—xii (15b), xxi (13a), lxxxi (14b, 15ab, 16a).

Kis—xxix (13a), xliii (37a).

Sun—xii (36b), xv (41b).

Utt—xviii (5a, 22a, 23c, 24a).

153. MAKṢIKĀ = A fly, bee.

AK. 88/130. मक्षन्ति रुष्यन्त्यस्ये मक्षिका ।

Ayo—xxviii (14a).

Ara—liv (65b).

Kis—li (30b).

154. MĀRJĀRA = Cat.

AK. 85/125. आखुभ्यो गृहं मार्ष्टि मार्जारः ।

151 RV., viii. 58. 15; ix. 92. 6; ix. 87. 7; x. 28. 10; Vāja. Sam., xxiv. 28; Harappa, Seal 229-40; Mohenjo (Mck) Seal 257, 279...; SD 3319 (u), DK 3907 (l) Mohenjo (Mar) HK 2974.

152 RV., iii. 45 1; viii. 1. 25; Mait. Sam., iii. 14. 4; Har. (Vats) A 317 (I), 5040 (II); Moh (Mac.) DK 7795 (I) Vāja. Sam., xxiv. 23. 27.

153 RV., i. 162. 9; i. 119. 9; Bṛhad Up., iii. 3. 2; ĀV., xi. 1. 2; Praśna Up., ii. 4.

154 Harappa (Vats). Ac 317 Str. 2.

AS. 2/219. 'मृजुशुद्धौ' । कजिमृजिभ्यां चित्'(उ० ३।१३२)इत्यारन् ।

'मृजेवृद्धिः' इति वृद्धिः । मार्जारः ।

Ayo—cxxxv (2a).

Kis—i (16b), xxvi (2b).

Yud—xi (38b).

Utt—vii (21ab).

155. MĀTANĜA = Elephant.

AK. 161/229. ' मा तङ्गति, मातङ्गापत्य'वा ।

Adi—xx (16a).

Ayo—ii (13b), xx (39b), lvi (16a), cx (15a).

Ara—xx (26a), lxx (26a) lxxx (28b).

Kis—xxix (10b), xliii (13b).

Sun—iv (5b, 9b), v (32b), x (6b), xxiv (16ab), xlii (4b, 18a), lxxviii (4a).

Yud—iii (40a), vi (26a), ix (23a), xxxvii (2a), liv (49a),

lviii (17b), lxiv (2b), lxx (1b), lxxiv (12a).

Utt—ix (20c).

156. MĀTANĜĪ = Female elephant.

Ara—xx (23a, 25a, 27a).

157. MĪNA = Fish. ५

AK. 42/64. मांनाति मीनः ।

Adi—xlv (18a).

Ayo—ci (41b), cxxxv (4b).

Ara—xxix (13a), lix (40a), lxi (19a), lxx (6b), lxxviii (9a).

Sun—lv (9b), lvi (2a), lxxiii (12b), lxxv (12b), lxxx (19a).

xciv (13a).

Yud—cix (17b).

Utt—vi (45a), vii (7a), xx (28b), xxi (6a, 35b).

158. MŪṢIKA = Rat, mouse.

AK. 86/126. मूषेति मूषिकः ।

AS. 2/225. मुष्णातीति मूषिकः ।

Yud—xi (38a).

157 Harappa (Vats) 2391 (VI); Seal 427-8.

158 RV, i. 105, 8; *Mait Sam.*, iii. 14, 17; Mohenjo (Marshall), VS 125; *Nirkuta*, iv. 5; *Vāja Sam.*, xxiv. 36.

159. MEṢA = Ram.

AK. 152/217. मेषति वाशते मेषः ।

Adi—I (6a, 7a, 8a, 9b, 10b, 11a).

Ara—xvi (15a, 17a, 22b, 24b, 26a, 28b, 31b), xl (29b),
xlvi (15b).

Utt—xxxviii (29b).

160 MRGA = Deer, antelope.

AK. 85/126. मृग्यते व्याधैर्मृगः ।

Adi—iii (53a), viii (32a), xxxi (18b), xxxiv (17a), xxxvi
(15a), lvi (23a), lxxvi (10b, 11b, 13b).Ayo—ix (18b, 33b), xxiv (5a), xxviii (11b, 12b), lii (35a),
liv (40a, 42c), lv (19b, 20a), lvi (16b, 22b, 23b,
25a), lxii (14b), lxv (19a, 20b), lxvi (12b), c (63a),
ci (41a, 42b), cii (4b, 12a), civ (5a, 19a), cv (23b,
35a), cvi (3a, 29d), cviii (4b, 29c), cxi (48a).Ara—i (34d), v (9b), vi (9a), vii (2a, 6a), xii (13b),
xv (34c), xvii (15a, 17b), xviii (21b), xix (20a),
xx (24a), xxi (12b, 16b, 21a), xxiv (18a), xxxvi
(19a, 57b), xxxvii (14a), xli (26a, 27a), xliii (22a),
xliv (7b, 17a), xlvii (13a), xlix (11b, 13b), l (1a,
5a, 6a, 7a, 9a, 12ab, 15a, 16a, 18a, 20a, 21ab,
23a, 24b, 25ab, 26a, 27b, 28a, 30a, 31a, 37b,
39b, 40a, 42b, 44a, 46ab, 47a, 48a, 55a, 56a),
li (1b, 3a, 8b, 9a, 12a, 14a, 15a, 16b, 24a), lii
(14b, 22b), liii (42a), liv (25a, 55a), lix (41a),
lx (4b), lxii (3b, 5b), lxv (1a, 5b, 14a, 20ab),
lxvi (25b, 26c), lxix (6a), lxxiii (4b), lxxvi (8b,
18b, 19a), lxxvii (17a, 38b), lxxix (21a), lxxx (3b,
12a), lxxxi (13b, 28b, 45a, 48a).Kis—xvii (16b, 17b, 18b), xviii (5b), xxvi (2a), xxix
(20b), xlix (13a), lxii (36b).Sun—xv (40a), xvii (8a, 49b), xviii (52a), xx (11a, 12a,
24b), xxviii (9a, 10a), xxxi (33a, 56a), xxxvii (24a),
l (23b, 33b), lviii (12b).

159 *RV.*, i. 43. 6; viii. 2. 40; *Vāja. Sam.*, iii. 59; xix. 90; *Sadv. Brā.*, i. 1; Harappa (Vats) Ab 616 (I), 8766 (III); Mohenjo (Mac.) DK 9341; *AV.*, vi. 49. 2; *Tait. Sam.*, vii. 4. 12. 1; *Sata. Brā.*, iii. 3. 4. 18.

160 Mohenjo (Mac.) DK 6593, Seal 3; Mohenjo (Mac.) DM 55.

Yud—xxviii (18b), xxxvii (31a), li (41b), lix (20b), lxxxiii (103a), lxxxiv (25a), lxxxix (17a), xciii (48a), cxi (23a, 24b).

Utt—xvii (21b), xxi (66a), xxxi (5a), cvii (25a).

161. MRGA = Elephant with particular marks.

Adi—vi (26a, 27a).

Ara—vii (2a), xx (25b).

162. MRGA = A forest animal or wild beast, game of any kind.

AS. 2/213. मृगाः पशवः ।

Adi—xxvii (13a), xxix (6a), lii (23b).

Ayo—xxv (34a), xxxiii (24a), xliv (3b), liv (9b, 13a), lix (9a), lxxviii (22a).

Ara—xxi (5b).

Kis—i (13a, 16b), xiii (9b, 11a, 46a), xvii (9b), xix (20b), xxvi (6a), xliii (53a), xliv (18a), xlix (6a, 17b).

Sun—xii (39a), xvii (10a), xviii (9a, 18b), xxxv (29b), xxxvii (40b), xxxviii (2a), xlii (36a), xlvi (6b), lv (4b), lvii (113a), lxxiv (53b), lxxviii (21a), xcvi (28a).

Yud—xvi (7b), xxix (11b), lxxx (8b).

Utt—xii (4b), xx (14a), lxxi (13a, 14a), lxxxiv (1b), lxxxv (8a), xciv (9a, 10a, 14b, 15a).

163. MRGA-VATĪ = Name of the mythical progenitress of bears and Srimars.

Ara—xx (22b, 24b).

164. MANḌA = A class of elephants. (See 133)

Adi—vi (27a),

Ara—xx (25b).

165. MRGA-RĀJA = 'King of beasts',—Lion.

Ayo—xii (4b).

Kis—xviii (22b), xxvi (24b).

Sun—xvii (49b), lxiv (28a).

161 RV., i. 64. 7, iv. 16. 4; *Ait. Brā.*, viii. 23. 3,

162 RV., i. 173. 2; viii. 1. 20; *AV.*, iv. 3. 6; x. 1. 26; *Ait. Brā.*, iii.

31. 2; *Tait Brā.*, iii. 2. 5. 6; *Pañc. Brā.*, vi. 7. 10; xxiv. 11. 2; *Tait. Sam.*, vi.

1. 3. 7; *Sata. Brā.*, xi. 8. 4. 3.

Yud—xxxv (9a), l (33b), lxxx (21a).

Utt—vii (11b).

166. MRGI=(a) Female deer or antelope; (b) Name of the mythical progenitress of antelopes.

Ayo—xxxvii (9b).

Ara—lxvi (3b), lxxxi (45a), xx (22b, 24a).

Kis—xix (3b).

Sun—xv (60b), xviii (50a), xxi (18b), xxvi (9b), lxvii (31b).

Yud—xxiii (40b), ci (10b).

Utt—xxxii (10b).

167. MRGENDRA = 'King of beasts',—Lion.

AK. 124 मृगाणां द्वीप्यादि-शशान्तानामिन्द्रः ।

AS. 2/113. मृगाः पशवः, तेषामिन्द्रो राजा मृगेन्द्रः ।

Ayo—xx (3b).

Kis—xiii (47b).

Yud—xxxv (15b).

168. MATSA = Fish.

AK. 64 माद्यति मत्स्यः, मच्छोऽपि ।

Ayo—liii (39b), lxix (28b), xc (17b), xcii (1a).

Ara—xxviii (29a), xliii (47b), xlvi (13b), lxxviii (9b, 24b).

Kis—li (26a).

Sun—lxxx (19b).

Yud—lxxiv (12a).

Utt—xc (17a).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

Appointment of Ministers and High Officials in Ancient India

As regards the appointment of *Amātyas* Kauṭilya makes a thorough survey of the ancient authorities on the subject, quotes their opinions and gives his own view. He says that according to Bhāradvāja (= Droṇācārya) the *Amātyas* (or ministers) should be selected by the king out of his class-mates as the purity of the character of those ministers as well as their capacity for work are already known to him, and so they become quite reliable (*sabādhya-yino'mātyān kurvīta dṛṣṭaśaucasāmarthyatvād iti...te hyasya viśvāsya bhavanti*).

But Viśalākṣa discards this view as he thinks that the above mentioned type of ministers would defy the king taking advantage of their being his play-mates (*sahakṛḍitatvāt paribhavantyenam*). On the contrary he suggests that the people who are of the same nature with the king in their private life should be appointed to the office of the ministers (*ye hyasya gubhyasadharmānastān-amātyān kurvīta*) as they possess similar nature and hobby etc. and so do not dare to do any harm to him for fear of his intimate knowledge of their secrets (*te hyasya marmajña-bhayān nāparādhyantīti*). Again according to Parāśara this is defective; he says that the minister should be selected from amongst those who support the king even at the risk of their lives, because their attachment for the king is visible (*ya enam-āpatsu prāṇābādhayuktāsvanugrhnīyus-tān-amātyān kurvīta dṛṣṭānūrāgatvāditi*). But Piśuna raises objection to this view and says that this is merely devotion to the king and no sign of intelligence (*bhaktir-eṣā na buddhiguṇaḥ*), which is obviously essential for a minister. According to Piśuna (= Nārada) a man who can perform the allotted portion of the work or even more is qualified for the post of the minister (*saṅkhyātārtheṣu karmasu niyuktā ye yathādiṣṭam arthaṃ saviśeṣaṃ vā kuryus-tān-amātyān kurvīta dṛṣṭa-guṇatvād iti*). But Kauṇapadanta (= Bhīṣma) rejects this view also. According to him the office of the minister should be made hereditary (*pitṛpaitāmahān-amātyān kurvīta*). "Because of their long connection with the family of the king (*sagandhatvāt*) they cannot desert him even if he goes astray" says he. On the other hand Vātavyādhi (= Uddhava) is of opinion that this is also not proper :

“because” he says “they do not care much for him and usurp the authority and behave just like the master (*te hyasya sarvam avagrhya svāmivat pracarantīti*); so the experts say that the ministers should be appointed on the basis of short terms, and these newcomers do not dare to do any wrong for fear of the king” (*navān-amātyān kurvīta, navāstu yamasthāne daṇḍadharam manyamānā nāparādhyaṇtīti*). But according to Bāhudantīputra (= Indra) a man who has got practical experience and who belongs to a high family and has got wisdom, purity of character, valour and attachment for the king should be appointed minister on account of his superior qualifications (*abbijana-prajñā-śauca-śaurya-nurāga-yuktān-amātyān kurvīta guṇaprādhānyād iti*).

But Kauṭilya winds up the topic by the remark that a minister should be appointed on the basis of the application of proper tests taking into consideration the qualifications which besit a minister as well as place, time and work. The skilfulness in work certainly testifies to the capacity of the person (*kārya-sāmarthyāddhi puruṣa-sāmarthyam kalpate*).

It appears that Kauṭilya, though he quotes earlier authorities, does not attach much importance to them in the matter of selection of ministers. He is more practical and places the ability for work in a person above all other considerations.

But so far as ancient records especially the inscripational documents are concerned, we come across a good number of instances particularly of the Gupta period and succeeding ages to the effect that the post of the ministers and some other high officials was hereditary. For example (1) Sāndhi-vigrahika (minister of peace and war)—Kumārāmātya-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hariṣeṇa of the time of Emperor Samudragupta was the son of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti (Fleet, *Corp. Ins.*, Ind. III, pp. 6 f.), (2) from the Udaygiri cave inscription of the time of Candragupta II, we learn that Kautsa-Śāva-Vīrasena, poet of Pāṭaliputra was the minister of peace and war under Candragupta II and he acquired this office by hereditary right (*anvaya-prāptasācivyo vyāprta-sandhi-vigrahaḥ*) (*ibid.*, pp. 35f); (3) again in the Karamdaṇḍa inscription of the time of Kumārāgupta I (G.E. 117=436-37 A.D.) it is recorded that Candragupta's minister (mantri) was Kumārāmātya Śikharasvāmi whose son Prthiviṣeṇa also was minister (mantri) and Kumārāmātya under Candragupta II's son Kumārāgupta I (*Ep. Ind.*, X, pp 71f.)

(4) The Junagarh Inscription of the time of Skandagupta (Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp, 58f.) mentions that Skandagupta appointed Parṇadatta for governing the outlying province of Surāṣṭra in Western India taking into serious consideration the various qualities of the head and heart of Parṇadatta and applying different methods (*upadbhā*) meant for testing the purity of character of the ministers and high officials. Similarly we find that Parṇadatta's son Cakrapālita who was also equally qualified and competent like his father was appointed to the high post of the administrator of the city (of Girinagara) by his father.

Even before the Gupta period it seems that ministry was hereditary in some places. We are not aware of the exact position of ministry as regards the appointment of its personnel during the Maurya period. From Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (the date of which is yet a disputed point) it appears that the author attaches special importance to the ability of a person for the post of a minister rather than his hereditary claim. Much light is not thrown on this point by the edicts of Aśoka also. But from a terracotta sealing found in course of archaeological excavations at Basarh in Muzaffarpur district of Bihar written in the Brahmi script of 2nd century A. D. according Dr. Spooner, it is learnt that it was a seal of the minister Hastabala, son of minister Bhadrīka (*Amātya-Bhadrīkaputrasya Amātya-Hastabalasya*). (*ASLAR.*, 1913-14, p. 134, Pl. XLVII.) So we find that the post of a minister was hereditary even in the 2nd cen. A. D. or long before the rule of the Guptas.

Later on, during the rule of the Pāla kings of Bengal we find that they followed the method enunciated by Kauṇapadanta, that is the Pāla kings made in most cases the post of the ministers hereditary. The Badal stone inscription (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, pp. 133-144; *IASB.*, 1874) informs us that a learned Brāhmaṇa Garga was minister under king Dharmapāla. Garga's son Darbhapāṇi was minister under king Devapāla, son of king Dharmapāla. Then again Darbhapāṇi's son Someśvara also was a favourite of the reigning king, although it is not explicitly mentioned whether he was a minister or something else. Someśvara's son Kedāra Miśra was also a very efficient and powerful minister under king Devapāla and king Śūrapāla (? Vighrapāla). This Kedāra Miśra's son Śrī-Gurava Miśra was also a very strong and famous minister under King Nārāyaṇapāla.

Again we find in the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, II. pp. 347f) (found at the village Kamauli near Banaras) that a scholarly Brāhmaṇa Yogadeva obtained the post of a minister by hereditary right under the Pāla king Vīgrahapāla III (middle of 11th cen. A. D.) (*vaṃśa-krameṇābhut sacivaḥ śāstravittamaḥ*, verse 3): then again Bodhīdeva who was the minister of Rāmapāla (Vīgrahapāla III's son) had a son Vaidyadeva by name who became a minister under Rāmapāla's son Kumārapāla.

So it is evident that during the reigns of the important Pāla kings of Bengal the opinion of Kauṇapadanta was followed in appointing the ministers.

As regards the defect of hereditary ministry, namely, the defiance of the kings by the powerful ministers as set forth by Vāṭavyādhi, sufficient inscriptional evidences of ancient times are not available to prove the validity of his statement. But from the trend of political events in Nepal in recent past it has come to our knowledge that the opinion of Vāṭavyādhi holds good in the case of the family of the hereditary Prime ministers of Nepal. The post of the Prime minister was hereditary in Nepal, and the family of the Prime minister was practically the ruler of the country. The king was merely a figure-head in the business of the State.

So from the instance of Nepal we find the validity of the opposition of Vāṭavyādhi to the theory of Kauṇapadanta regarding hereditary ministry. Such instances might have happened in ancient India also. This is why Vāṭavyādhi puts forth a strong opposition against succession to the post of ministers by the law of inheritance.

KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI

Mss. of the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra—their linguistic peculiarities

The *Saddharmapundarīkasūtra* is one of the most popular early texts of the Mahāyānists. It was adored as a deity in pursuance of the directions given frequently in the text itself. It formed the main scripture of a few Chinese and Japanese Buddhist sects, particularly the Tendai and Nichiren sects of Japan, and it is recited in all temples of the Zen (Dhyāna) sect. Its great popularity is also evinced by the fact that its mss. so far discovered in Nepal, Central Asia and the neighbouring regions are the oldest and the largest in number.

The Nepalese Manuscripts

Many copies of the Nepalese manuscripts of this text are available in the Libraries of the East and the West.

There are in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, three mss. procured from Nepal. The oldest of these is noticed by R. L. Mitra in his *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (p. 203) while the other two mss. collected by H. P. Sastri are described by him in his *Catalogue of Buddhist Manuscripts* (1917). These mss. are not very old, being copies made in 1711-12 A.C.

The two earliest and the best manuscripts of this text are preserved in the Cambridge University Library. One is a copy of the year 1036-37 A.C. and the other of 1063-4 A.C. There are other mss. of the same text, all described by Bendall in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Mss.* in the Cambridge University Library (1883).

Another old ms. of this text is preserved in the British Museum, London. It belongs also to the 11th or 12th century (vide Bendall's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the British Museum*, 1902).

There are three other mss. of this text, one preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; these three are not very old, being of the 18th century.

All these mss. are procured from Nepal; hence except some readings here and there, there are no fundamental differences. The older mss.

of the Cambridge University Library and the British Museum offer better readings and are more reliable.

Central Asian Manuscripts

It is remarkable that apart from the mss. procured from Nepal, a number of fragments of very old mss. of this text has been discovered in Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan and Gilgit (Kashmir) and collected by Sir Aurel Stein, Mr. N. Th. Petrowiski, Count K. Otani and H. H. Sri Hari Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir.

Kern examined the fragments collected by Petrowiski from Kashgar. These contained about two-fifths of the whole text written in Calligraphic Gupta script. About the characteristics of this ms. find, Prof. Kern writes, "it is much more prolix, and in the metrical parts, the verses followed often a different order but the most striking difference is in the language of the prose parts of the text" ... and there are "more Prakritisms and wrongly Sanskritised expressions than those in the Nepalese mss." This last remark of his is substantiated by a list of variants collected from Petrowiski and Nepalese mss. (vide Preface to his edition).

In Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (abbreviated as *MR*) there are three fragments of the mss. of this text found at Khadalik, one edited by F.W. Thomas and the other two by Lüders. The former is written in Upright Gupta script and contains the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th chapter while the latter two written in Upright Gupta script of the Calligraphic type contain a portion of chapter XI and of chapter XII. Lüders has made an exhaustive study of the paleography and orthography of the mss., and compared them with the Nepalese mss. From the divergences noticed by him in the additions or omissions or Sanskritisation or arrangement of words of the Central Asian and Nepalese mss., he arrived at the conclusion that "both (Nepalese and Central Asian manuscripts) must have developed from a common source" (vide *MR.*, p. 157). In his opinion there were two recensions of the original text. He attributed great antiquity to the Central Asian fragments and held the opinion that the original text "was written in a language that had far more Prakritisms than either of the two

versions,” and he went even so far as to say that he was “inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit”, though he admitted that before the discovery of the Prakrit version it was rather risky to make such a statement. He further suggested on the basis of the use of the vocative plural ‘*kulaṣṭrāho*’ that “the original text was written, if not in pure Māgadhi in a mixed Sanskrit which was based on that dialect” (MR., p. 161-2).

In Stein collection there is a large fragment of a ms. of this text found at a spot about 8 miles north of Khadalik. It comprised 34 folios written in Upright Gupta characters. A few leaves of this ms. were edited and published by L. de la Vallée Poussin in the *JRAS* 1911 (pp. 1069-77) containing the stanzas 1-41 of chapter XI ending with the words *Saddharmapuṇḍarīke mahāvaipulyasūtraratnai stūpadarśanaparivartto namaikādaśamaḥ samāptaḥ*. This shows that in this ms. the subsequent portion of chapter XI has been omitted or dealt with as a separate chapter. The Chinese translations of Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva also agreed with this particular ms. of Central Asia on this point, and this was noticed by Kern in his edition of the text (vide p. 256 n). In the Chinese translations, the omitted portion appears elsewhere as a new chapter called “Brahmacāri-parivartta” in Dharmarakṣa’s version and as “Devadatta-parivartta” in Kumārajīva’s version (vide *JRAS* 1927, p. 273). Hence it is evident that in the division and arrangement of chapters there were some divergences in the early Central Asian mss. In regard to this chapter, it should be observed that the Gilgit ms. follows the Nepalese mss. i. e. it retains the latter portion of chapter XI and does not separate it as a new chapter as has been done in Dharmarakṣa’s and Kumārajīva’s translations.

In this Central Asian ms. appears also the whole of chapter XII closing with the words: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīke mahāvetulyasūtraratne utsāhaparivartto nāma dvādaśamaḥ samāptaḥ*”.

The discrepancies in the wordings of the titles of the above mentioned two chapters deserve our attention, e.g. *puṇḍarīke* and *poṇḍarīke*, *vaipulya* and *vetulya*, *ratne* and *ratnai*. The question arises whether these differences were due to the carelessness of the scribe or an improvement in the Sanskritisation of the title of chapter XI. The latter reason appears to be more plausible.

In K. Otani's collection of Central Asian Mss., there are 56 fragments of three mss. of this text as has been ascertained by Mironov and all these are written in Upright Gupta script of the Indian varieties of the 5th century A.D. and contain portions of chapter XIX-XX. There are seven fragments written in Calligraphic Gupta script. All these have been studied by Mironov who has also examined the question of relationships of the various Central Asian and Nepalese mss. as also their Chinese versions (vide *JRAS* 1927, pp. 252-279). His findings are as follows:

- (i) Mss. written in Upright Gupta script belonging to the 5th century A.C. are more archaic and older than the mss. written in Calligraphic script which are attributed by Hoernle to the 7th century.
- (ii) Mss. in Calligraphic script are much older than the Nepalese mss. and contain more prakritisms.
- (iii) There were different sets of mss. in Central Asia and the language of the different sets is not exactly the same.
- (iv) There is a commonness in the mss. written in Upright Gupta but all these mss. differ morphologically from the mss. written in Calligraphic style.
- (v) The mss. in Upright Gupta contain more prakritisms than those in Calligraphic script and were written in a language nearer to the Prakrit in which the original was composed as suggested by Lüders.
- (vi) The process of Sanskritisation in Central Asia was different from that in Nepal.
- (vii) The mss. written in Upright Gupta script belong to the 5th or 6th century A.C. This opinion is held by Hoernle also. The mss. written in the Calligraphic style belong to the 7th century.

Gilgit Manuscript

The manuscript of this text discovered at Gilgit (Kashmir) written on handmade paper in Upright Gupta script is the largest find and covers almost three-fourths of the text. There were in this collection two mss. Some of the leaves of these two mss. passed into the hands of European scholars from the site and were published in the *Journal Asiatique* (January-March 1934) as also three leaves

by W. Baruch in 1938 under the title "*Beiträge zum Saddharmapundarikasūtra*". The contents of the leaves published by Baruch are also found in the Kashmir collection. The number of leaves of the Gilgit ms. is about 150, many of which are damaged, and a few beyond recovery. These contain roughly the following chapters of the text :—

- Chap. I & II (about one third)
- „ III (latter part)
- „ IV & V (first part)
- „ VI (last part)
- „ VII (first part)
- „ IX & X (Nil)
- „ XI (latter part)
- „ XII (whole)
- „ XIII (beginning)
- „ XIV & XV (large portions)
- „ XVI & XVII (Nil)
- „ XVIII-XXIII (large portions)
- „ XXV-XXVII (large portions)

This ms. contains the concluding line giving the names of donors of the ms.

Baruch has made an exhaustive study of the three leaves of this ms. along with their Chinese translations, from which a fair idea can be formed about the characteristics of the ms. He thinks that this ms. belongs to the 5th or 6th century A. C.

On a comparison of many leaves of this ms. with the present text it appears that it agrees with the old Nepalese mss. to a large extent. The readings of a few stanzas which are found in the mss. deciphered by L. de la Vallée Poussin and myself are reproduced below for giving an idea of the relation existing between the mss. The ms. of Baruch agrees with our Gilgit ms. in every respect.

La Vallée Poussin's reading of our text, p.165 (vide JRAS., 1911, p. 1071-2) is as follows:—

बहुकल्पकोटीपरिनिर्वृतोपि स नाम अद्यापि शृणोति धर्मम् ।
 तहि तहि गच्छति धर्महेतौः सुदुर्लभं धर्मं मयेवरूपम् ॥
 प्रणिधानम् एतस्य विनायकस्य निषेवितम् पूर्व्वभवेषु आसि ।
 परिनिर्वृतोपि [इसु] सर्व्वलोकम् पद्म्यगृह्णते सर्व्वदशदिशासु ॥

इमे च मय्यं बहु आत्मभावां सहस्रकोट्या यथ गङ्गावातिकाः ।
 ते धर्म(कृ)तस्य कृतेन आगताम् : परिनिर्वृतं द्रष्टुम् इमं विनायकम् ॥
 च्छोरित्वा क्षेत्राणि स्वकम्बकानि तथ [श्रा]वका नरमरुणश्च सर्व्वं ।
 इहागता सर्व्वि सद्वर्महेतोः यथा चिरम् [ति]प्रिय धर्मेनेली ॥
 एतेषु बु[द्धान] निषीदनार्थं बहुलोकधातून सहस्रकोटयः ।
 संकामिता मे तनु सर्व्वसत्वान् ऋद्धिवलेन परिशोधिताश्च ॥
 एतादृशी उत्सुकता अयं मम कथं प्रकाशो इम धर्मं नेली ।
 इमे च बुद्धा स्थित अप्रमेया द्रुममूलि शोभन्ति यथैव पद्माः ॥
 द्रुममूलकीटोय अनन्तकानि सिंहासनस्थेभिः विनायकेभिः ।
 शोभन्ति दीप्यन्ति च नित्यकालं हुताशनो वा यथ अन्धकारे ॥
 गन्धो मनुजो दशसु दिशासु प्रवायते लोकहितान सान्तिके ।
 येन इमे मूर्च्छन्ति सर्व्वसत्त्वा वातेन वायन्त च नित्यकालम् ॥
 मम निर्वृतस्मि को ह्येत धर्मपर्याय धारयेत् ।
 क्षिप्रं व्याहरतु वाचा लोकना[थान सम्मुखम्] ॥
 प [रि] [नि]र्वृतो यं बुद्धः प्रभूतरतनो मुनि ।
 सिहनादं शृणोतस्तस्य [व्य]वसायं य कुर्व्वति ॥
 अहं द्वितीयो बहवो [इमाश्च य]। कोट[ी]य आगत नायकानाम् ।
 व्यवसाय श्रोष्याम जिनात्मजानां य उत्सहे धर्ममिमं प्रकाशितुम् ॥
 अ[हं] च तेन भवि पूजित सदा प्रभूतरत्नश्च जिन स्वयम्भुः ।
 यो गच्छति दिश विदिशाश्च नित्यं शृणुनाय धर्ममि[यमे]वरूपम् ॥
 इमे च ये आगत लोकनायकाम् विचित्रिता शोभति येरियं मही ।
 तेषां पूजा विपुला अनल्[प]का कृता भवेत् सूत्रप्रकाशनेन ॥
 अहं च दृष्टो इह आसनस्मि भगवांश्च यो य स्थित स्तूपमद्देश्य ।
 इमे च अन्ये बहुलोकनायकाः ये आगतां क्षेत्रसहस्रकोटिभि ॥

The Gilgit manuscript reads as follows :—

- (1) बहुकल्पकोटीपरिनिर्वृतोपि सो नाम अद्यापि शृणोति धर्मम् ।
 तर्हि तर्हि गच्छति धर्महेतोः सु[दु]र्लभो धर्म यमेवरूपः ॥
 प्रणिधानमेतस्य विनायकस्य निषेवितं पूर्वभवे यदा (2)सीत् ।
 परिनिर्वृतोपि इमु सर्वलोकं पर्यगयती सर्वदशादशासु ॥
 इमे च सर्वे मम आत्मभावाः सहस्रकोट्यो यथ गङ्गावातिकाः ।
 ते धर्मकृत्यस्य कृतेन आगताः परिनिर्वृतं च इमु द्रष्टु (3) नाथम् ।
 च्छोरित्व क्षेत्राणि स्वकस्वकानि तथ श्रावकां नरमरुतांश्च सर्वान् ।
 सद्वर्मसंरक्षणहेतु सर्वे कथं चिरं तिप्रिय धर्मेनेलीः ॥

एतेष बुद्धान निषीदनार्थं बहुलोकधातूनां (4) सहस्रकोट्यः ।
 संक्रामिता ते तथ सर्वसत्त्वा ऋद्धीबलेनः परिशोधितं च ॥
 एतादृशी उत्सुकता इयं मे कथं प्रकाशोदिय धर्मेनेली ।
 इमे च बुद्धा स्थित अप्रमेया द्रुमाण मूले यथ पद्म (5)राशिः ॥
 द्रुममूलकोटोय अनल्पकायो सिंहसनस्थेहि विनायकेहि ।
 शोभन्ति तिष्ठन्ति च नित्यकालं हुताशनेनैव यथान्धकारम् ॥
 गन्धो मनोज्ञो दशसु दिशासु ब्रूयायते लोकवि (6)नायकानाम् ।
 येनो इमे मूर्च्छित सर्वसत्त्वा वाते प्रवान्ते इह नित्यकालभू ॥
 मम च परिनिर्वृतस्य यो एते धर्मपर्यायु धा[र]येत् ।
 क्षिप्रं व्याहरतां वाचं लोकनाथा संमुखम् ॥
 परिनिर्वृतो हि संबुद्धः प्रभू (7) तरतनो मुनिः ।
 सिंहनादं श्रुणोत्तस्य व्यवसायं करोति यः ॥
 अहं द्वितीयो न बहवो इमे च ये कोटियो आगत नायकानाम् ।
 व्यवसायु शोष्याम जिनस्य पुत्राद् य उत्सहे धर्ममिमं प्रका (8)शितुम् ॥
 अहं च तेन भवि पूजितो सदा प्रभूतरत्नश्च जीनः स्वयंभूः ।
 यो गच्छती दिशविदिशासु नित्यं श्रुणुनार्थं धर्ममिममेवरूपम् ॥
 इमे च ये आगत लोक[ना]था विचित्रिता यैरिह शो (9)भिते भूः ।
 तेषांपि पूजा विपुला अनल्पका कृता भवेत् सूत्रप्रकाशनेन ॥
 अहं च दृष्टो इहं शासनस्मि भगवांश्च योयं स्थित स्तूपमध्ये ।
 इमे च अन्ये बहुलोकनाथा ये आग(1)ता क्षेप्तसहस्रकोटिभिः ॥

To complete the above account of Central Asian mss. we should refer also to the find of the fragment of an Uigur-Turkish ms. discovered by Zakov in Turfan. It contains chapter XXV of the text, which eulogises Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. This text was edited and translated into German and published by W. Radoff in the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series in 1911. The chapter on Avalokiteśvara was read widely and was regarded as a separate treatise. It was very likely meant for the lay Buddhists who were acquainted with the Uigur-Turkish dialect only. This also proves the great popularity of the treatise among the common people.

The Chinese Versions

According to Nanjio there were eight or nine translations of this text into Chinese, of which three only are available, the earliest (286 A.C.) is of Dharmarakṣa who was a Yueh-chi born in Kan-su province and was educated in the western region where he learnt as many

as thirty-six different languages and dialects; the next (400-2 A.C.) in point of time is of Kumārajīva, the famous Buddhist monk of Kucha, who was taken to China (383 A.C.) where he translated several Buddhist works into Chinese. The third translation (601 A.C.) is of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta who were Indians and whose translations follow the Nepalese mss. In the preface to the third translation, there are references to two originals of this text, one of which was the basis of Dharmarakṣa's translation written on palm-leaves and the other in the script of Kucha, which was the original used by Kumārajīva. The writer of the preface points out some differences between the two early Chinese versions in the contents of chapters V, VIII, X and XII and then remarks that both the versions omit the gāthās of the *Samantamukhāparivarta* and place the *Dhāraṇīparivarta* after *Samantamukhāparivarta*. He added the very interesting remark that "the omission of the gāthās in Kumārajīva's version of chaps. XII and XXV (XXIV in the Sanskrit text) had since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow" (Kern, Transl. Intro. xix, xxiii). These gāthās appear also in the Gilgit ms. and hence it is apparent that such additions of new compositions were not an uncommon feature of the old Buddhist mss.

Gilgit Mss. of the present text and the Samādhirājasūtra

On a comparison of the Gilgit ms. of the *Samādhirājasūtra* with its Nepalese mss. it is found that a large section of the prose portions does not appear in the Gilgit ms. (vide my *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, parts i and ii) while the gāthā portions are almost common. This shows that the original text, a major portion of which was in gāthās, was enlarged at a later date by substantial additions in prose. This, however, is not the case with the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. There is a close agreement in both prose and gāthā portions between the Central Asian mss. of the 6th century and those of the Nepalese mss. ranging from the 11th to 18th century. Kern has also pointed out that the agreement is close between the earliest Nepalese mss. and the Petrowiski ms. and the same remark is equally applicable to the Gilgit ms.

Probable date of the Original

The finds of Central Asian mss. of this text place beyond doubt its existence and popularity in the 5th century A.C. Quotations from

this text are found in Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* and Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of the 6th or 7th century A.C. The Chinese translation of Dharmarakṣa which was slightly different from the present text was made in 286 A.C. Hence we may without any hesitation assign the 3rd century A.C. as its date of composition, if not earlier.

Lüders, Hoernle, Mironov, and other scholars are inclined to believe that the versions used by Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva were derived from an original text which was written in a Prakrit like Māgadhi (see above p. 135), though Lüders was cautious enough to add that before the find of such a version, this conclusion of his should not be regarded as definite. This inference about the existence of a Prakrit original seems to be a little wide of the mark.

Very recently (1953) Edgerton's monumental work entitled the "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary" (abbreviated as BHS) has come out, throwing a flood of light on the growth and development of the language used in the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts. In the Introduction to this work, he has criticised Lüders, Hian-lin, Dschi and other scholars who have suggested an old eastern Prakrit as the original upon which the available versions of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts are based. He says that the "Prakrit underlying BHS was certainly not identical with any Middle Indic dialect otherwise known to us." He was however unable to localise geographically the home of the Prakrit nor did he expect a "complete dialectic unity in a body of texts of quite different dates" but still he thinks that there was an essential dialectic unity of the BHS Prakrit.

Edgerton's views are undoubtedly based on good grounds and exhaustive studies but we would like to know whether there is any necessity of making an assumption that the texts available at present must have been derived from an earlier original text. Is it not more plausible to hold that the mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit (which has been dubbed by Edgerton with the unhappy expression Hybrid Sanskrit) was the accepted language of the Northern Buddhist writers and that the variations noticed in the manuscripts of different dates were due to changes made by the reciters and copyists in course of decades and centuries? So far we have not come across a single pure Prakrit text of the Mahāyānists or even of the Sarvāstivādins, except, of course, the fragmentary Prakrit Dharmapada, nor is there any reference

to such a text in any treatise. It is only in Tāranātha that we get a reference to the existence of a *Prajñāpāramitā* in Prakrit. Hence it is not safe to infer the existence of a Prakrit text merely on the basis of a few textual differences or different forms of Sanskritisation of Prakrit words borrowed from the phraseology of the Pāli Piṭaka. The irregular Sanskrit words and phrases found in the versions form a very small fraction, almost negligible, of the whole text composed in good Sanskrit with lengthy compounds, beautiful similes and bold imageries. The slight differences in the versions of the text are due to lack of accuracy in preserving and copying a text. The author of the preface to the Chinese translation of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta clearly refers to the practice of learned authors or copyists to make additions whenever they desired. If this was done by a writer in an old text, how much more must have been done by way alterations of words or different juxtapositions of sentences, stanzas and chapters by the copyists and reciters of later days. Hence it is not at all strange that the identical text would appear to have two or more recensions, though in fact there was no deliberate attempt at recasting the original form and language. Hence the surmise made by Lüders, Hoernle and others is not very convincing and we think that the original text was identical with the present *minus* the additions and alterations made by the copyists and reciters in course of centuries, during which long period the language also underwent appreciable changes. In view of this contention of ours, the probable date of the text is not very anterior to the 3rd century A.C. and should be placed some time after the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* from the point of both Buddhological conceptions and linguistic characteristics. Hence its original composition may be assigned to the 2nd or even 1st century A.C.

Sanskritisation of Prakrit words

Commenting on the linguistic characteristics of the Central Asian and the Nepalese mss., Lüders, Hoernle and Mironov have come to the conclusion that the earlier a ms., the more Prakritisms does it contain, e.g. among the Central Asian mss., those written in Upright Gupta script in the 5th or 6th century A.C. contain more Prakritisms than those written in Calligraphic script of the 7th century. They assert that all Central Asian mss. have more Prakritisms than the Nepalese mss. The same remark is applicable to the Gilgit mss. as well.

In North Indian Buddhist texts Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, the Prakrit vocabulary and phraseology of the Pāli Tripiṭaka or the unknown original Prakrit Tripiṭaka, if there was any, were freely used in a Sanskritised form. It seems that the use of Mixed Sanskrit in the Gāthās and Pure Sanskrit in the prose portions was the rule in the first or second century A.C. or earlier when the Mahāyāna texts were being composed for the first time. In the gāthās, emphasis was laid more on diction and melody than on grammar, provided the content was anyhow intelligible—a feature not uncommon in our vernacular treatises of the mediaeval period.

It should be borne in mind that the Sanskritisation of the Pāli or the unknown Prakrit Tripiṭaka was started by the Sarvāstivādins in the pre-Christian eras, and as a result, a complete Sanskrit Tripiṭaka came into existence and it became popular in Northern India and in Central Asia and its neighbouring regions. It was as a protest against the realism of the Sarvāstivādins that the idealism or monism of the Mahāyānists appeared and therewith the Mahāyāna texts like the *Prajñāpāramitās*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, *Dśabbhūmikasūtra* and the present text. These were the productions of those monks who had studied the Sarvāstivāda piṭaka and were so well versed in the words and phraseology of the Tripiṭaka, that they used the same almost unconsciously in their Mahāyāna treatises, not to speak of retaining in many instances the Prakrit words and grammatical forms. This will be evident from the following few Pāli passages appearing in Sanskrit in the text published by the Asiatic Society:—

p. 13: Sa dharmaṃ deśayati sma. Ādau kalyāṇaṃ madhye kalyāṇaṃ paryavasāne kalyāṇaṃ svārthaṃ suvyañjanaṃ kevalaṃ paripūrṇaṃ paryavadātaṃ brahmacaryaṃ samprakāśayati sma.

Dīgha, I, p. 62: So dhammaṃ deseti ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ sattham savyañjanaṃ kevala-paripunṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti.

pp. 23,24: gambhīraṃ durdṛśaṃ duranubodham

Vinaya, I, p. 4: gambhīro duddaso duranubodho.

p. 27: vicikitsā-kathaṃkathaṃ viditvā cetasaiva cetaḥ parivitar-kam-ājñāya.

Dīgha, I, p. 148; Vinaya, I, p. 35: vicikiccho kathaṃkatho cetasā cetoparivittakkaṃ aññāya.

pp. 37, 60: bahujaṇāhitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānaṃ ca manuṣyānāṃ ca

Vinaya, I, p. 21: bahujaṇāhitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ.

pp. 51, 105: vidyācaraṇasampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadāmyasārathiḥ śāstā devānaṃ ca manuṣyānāṃ ca Buddhō Bhagavān

Dīgha, I, p. 49: vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidu anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ Buddhō Bhagavā.

p. 90: sa dharma ekaraso yaduta vimuktiraso virāgaraso nirodharaso so sarvajña-jñānaparyavasānaḥ.

Aṅguttara, IV, p. 203: ayaṃ dhammavinayo ekaraso vimuttirasoetam nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya..... nibbānāya saṃvattati.

p. 122: deśayatu dharmamasya lokasya samārakasya sabrahmakasya śāramaṇa-brāhmaṇikāyāḥ prajāyāḥ sadevamānuṣāsuriyāḥ.

Vinaya, I, p. 11: sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya

p. 124: śraddhayāgārādanāgārikam pravrajitaḥ.... paṇḍitā vyattā medhāviṇaḥ kuśalā

Samyutta, IV, p. 375: saddhāya agārādanāgārikam pabbajitā ... paṇḍitā viyattā medhāvinī bahussutā.

p. 285: kaccit te kṣamaṇīyaṃ kaccid yāpanīyaṃ

Vinaya, I, p. 253: kacci khamanīyaṃ kacci yāpanīyaṃ.

p. 303: dhārmyā kathayā saṃdarśayati samādāpayati samuttejayati saṃpraharṣayati

Dīgha, II, p. 42: dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādāpesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī.

p. 285: alpābādhātām alpātāṅkatām laghutthānatām yātrām balaṃ sukhasaṃsparśaviharatām.

Dīgha, I, p. 204: appābādham appātāṅkam laghutthānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ.

Examples of Prakritisms in the Central Asian Mss.

In his preface to the edition of this text, Prof. Kern gives a list of words collected from the Petrowiski ms. with their corresponding words in the Nepalese mss. Some of these are:—

avalokayimṣu for avalokayāmāsa pattiṣiṣyanti for pratiṣiṣyanti

avoculḥ	for avocan	parājinitvā	for parājayitvā
asthāsīt	„ asthāt	pariyāpunīṣyanti	„ paryavāpṣyanti
kārāpayiṃsu	„ kārayānāsuḥ	praṇāmayitvā	„ praṇāmya
niṣiditvā	„ niṣadya	ghrāyati	„ jighrati

The following list is made out of Mironov's readings of the fragments as given in this text: —

(a) verbs: —

abhiramatha	for abhiramadhvaṃ	pariyāpuneya	for paryavāpnuyāt
karīṃsu	„ karonti, kārayanti	bhāṣi	„ abhāṣanta, abhāṣata
abhūṣi	} „ abhuvam	bhane	„ pravadet
abhūṣīt		bhonti	„ bhavanti
asthāsi	„ asthāt	manyatha	„ manyadhvam
tapyanta	„ tapyamānān	labheyāṃ	„ labhemahi
niṣkāsayeyā	„ niṣkrāmayeyam	evaṃ vadeyāt	„ etad avocat
		saṃjāneyāsi	„ saṃjñātavyo

(b) dropping of 't': —

ālapeyā	for ālapet	bhaveya	for bhavet
kṣipe	„ nikṣipet	likhāpayā	„ likhāpayet
tāraye	„ tārayet	śrāveyā	„ śrāvayet
dhāreyā	„ dhārayet	satkāreyā	„ satkuryāt
paśyeyā	„ paśyet		

(c) participles, gerunds etc: —

grhya	for grhṇitvā	śruṇitvā	for niśāmya
dr̥ṣṭvāna	„ dr̥ṣṭvā	śruṇanāya	„ śruṇanāya
śrutvāna	„ śruṇitvā,	upaviṣṭa	„ upaviśya

(d) cases —

asmebhi	for asmābhiḥ	ṛddhīye	for ṛddhyā
upāyāsebhir	„ upāyāsebhyah	antikāto	„ antikāt
tebhi	„ tehi		
devehi	„ devaiḥ	caturnṇām } pariśānām } catvāri } parisām }	catasṇām parśadām
diśābhi	„ dikṣu		
purimebhi	„ pūrvehi		
vejayantebhi	„ vījayantībhir		
yānebhi	„ yānaiḥ dattair	bhikṣave	„ bhikṣavas
dinnebhi		antariyasmi	„ antariye
ratanebhi	„ ratnehi	lokadhātuya	„ lokadhātusu hi
sahasrebhi	„ sahasrai	imasyām	„ imasmīn

(e) pronouns: —

ida	for imu	imasmi	for asya
idam	„ imam	edṛśaḥ	„ īdṛśaḥ
imena	„ anena	tāyām	„ tasyām
imeṣāṃ	„ eṣāṃ	yuṣme	„ yūyam

(f) gender irregularity: —

imāni gāthāni for imā gāthā

(g) pure Prakrit words: —

abhīṇhaṃ	for abhīkṣaṇaṃ	dhītā	for duhitā
uparimā	„ ūrdhva	subherava	„ subhairava
orasā	„ putreṇa	viyuha	„ vyūha
gilāna	„ glāna	rodra	„ raudra
duścelaka	„ kuṣailakā		

(h) dropping of consonantal endings: —

āttamanā	for āttamanaskalḥ	pariṣā	for pariṣad
tāva	„ tāvad		

(i) sandhis: —

atiriva	for atīva	tasyeṣa	for tasyaiṣa
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Besides the linguistic characteristics of the earlier mss. dealt with above, there are many irregularities in the language of the gāthās, which may be generalised thus: —

(a) indiscriminate use of singular for plural, long for short and *vice versa*, in many cases, for exigencies of metre;

(b) frequent use of 'u' as ending for nominative and accusative cases as also in verbs, particles etc., e.g., ahu (= ahaṃ, 71, 211*, 212), dharmu (185, 212), vaidyu (214), yādṛśu (65), ārjavu (187), imu paścimu (190), amukātu nagarātu (58), śrutu (81), paśyīṣu (211, 213), viceru (218), hāyeyu (118)

(c) use of bhoti, bheṣyati, bheṣyāma is quite common

(d) √sthā conjugated thus:—adhiṣṭhahāmi (211), praṭiṣṭhahanti (93), vyuṭṭhahitva (192)

(e) formation of gerunds: kariyāna (246), niṣīdiyāna (185), śruṇiyāna (217), gatvāna (99), gamiyāna (110), ujjihiya (187), prāpiya (262), vilokiya (294), vijāniya (91)

(f) locative by 'i', e.g., kālī (190), loki (170), ākāśi (218), upāyi (190)

(g) genitives are expressed thus: parṣāna (191), sutāna (213), dharmāna (214), kṣetrāna (217)

(h) rules of Prakrit grammar in sandhis are often observed e.g. sūtrimu (264), bhontimi (68), dharmenīmu (94), kalpiman (113)

(i) past tenses formed by the affix 'iṃsu' e.g. avaciṃsu (130), śrāvayiṃsu (131)—vide also previous list

(j) use of Prakrit vocabulary e.g. bhīrave (99), tahiṃ (103), aviheṭhitaḥ (113), mārīṣā (116), ujjukaṃ (91), kilāsitā (93, 186), dahatā (191), bāhiriye (249)

(k) frequent use, as in Pāli, of 'o' for ava, as in anolīno (183, 233), oropayi (218), okireta (225), otaritvā (85), onahatī (91).

N. DUTT

* The figures within brackets refer to pages of the text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa

The chronology of the imperial dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa could not so long be settled owing to want of reliable data. A fairly satisfactory genealogical scheme for these rulers was, however, suggested by Pandit B. Misra in his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 71. But a number of inscriptions of the family, since discovered, have now led to certain modifications of and additions to Misra's scheme. The most important of these epigraphs are : (1) Taltali plate of Dharma-mahādevī, published in *IHQ.*, vol. XXI, September, 1945 pp. 213 ff., (2) Terundia plate of Śubhākara II, son of Śivakara II from Mohinīdevī, dated year 100 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff.) and (3) Baud plates of Pṛthvī-mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, wife of Śubhākara IV (son of Śāntikara II from Hīrā-mahādevī), dated year 158 (to be published in *Ep. Ind.*). We quote below an upto date list of the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Orissa, both male and female, on the basis of inscriptions so far known to us.

1. *Paramopāsaka Mahārāja* Kṣemañkara, possibly also called Lakṣmīkara, although the latter may have been an earlier ruler of the family as well.
2. *Paramatāthāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I or Unmaṭṭasiñha or Bharasaha, son of No. 1; married Jayāvalī, daughter of the king of Rādha.
3. *Paramasaugata Mahārāja* (or *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhṭṭāraka* = P.M.P.) Śubhākara I, son of No. 2; married Mādhavadevī; the reading of the date of his Neulpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, pp. 1-8) appears to be doubtful.
4. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śivakara II, son of No. 3; married Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna lineage; the reading of the date of his Chaurasi plate (*JBORS.*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-306) appears to be doubtful.
5. Śāntikara I or Gayāḍa I or Lalitahāra ("bhāra) I, younger brother of No. 4; married Tribhuvana-mahādevī born in the Nāga lineage; year 93 (Dhauḷi inscription; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, p. 167).
6. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śubhākara II, son of No. 4; married Nṛṇṇādevī; year 100 (Terundia plate).

7. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Subhākara III or Siṃhaketu (°dhvaja) or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) I, son of No. 5; year 103 (Hindol and Dharakota plates; Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-22).
8. *Paramavaiṣṇavī P.M.P.* Tribhuvana mahādevī I or Sindagaurī I or Gosvāminī (II), mother of No. 7 and daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country; the date of her Dhenkanal plate (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.) may be year 120. Her name Sindagaurī (i.e. Gaurī of the Sindas) suggests that she was born in the family of the Sindas who originally belonged to Karṇāṭaka and claimed Nāga origin.
9. Śāntikara II or Gayāḍa II or Loṇabhāra (Lavaṇa°) I, adopted son of No. 7; married Hīrā-mahādevī, daughter of Siṃhamāna.
10. *Paramamāheśvara P.M.P.* Subhākara IV or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) II, son of No. 9; married Pṛthvī-mahādevī; the date of his Talcher plate (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.) appears to be year 145.
11. *Paramamāheśvara P.M.P.* Śivakara III or Lalitahāra (°bhāra) II, younger brother of No. 10; year 149 (Talcher plates; Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.) when his feudatory Vinītatuṅga (of the Tuṅga dynasty of Yamagarttā-maṇḍala; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1747 and Nos. 1745-46) was also ruling.
12. *Paramavaiṣṇavī P.M.P.* Pṛthvī-mahādevī or Tribhuvana-mahādevī II or Sindagaurī II, wife of No. 10 and daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kośala; year 158 (Baud plates, unpublished). She tried to pass herself as a shadow of No. 8.
13. Śāntikara III or Lavaṇabhāra II, son of No. 11; married Dharma-mahādevī.
14. Subhākara V, younger brother of No. 13; married Gaurī-mahādevī and Vakula-mahādevī.
15. Gaurī-mahādevī, wife of No. 14.
16. *Paramamāheśvarī P.M.P.* Daṇḍi-mahādevī, daughter of Nos. 14-15; years 180 and 187 (Ganjam, Banpur and other plates; cf. Misra *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff., etc.).
17. Vakula-mahādevī, wife of No. 14 and daughter of a Bhañja ruler.

18. *Paramamāheśvarī P.M.P.* Dharma-mahādevī, wife of No. 13; there are no dates in her grants.

It will be seen from the above analysis that the eighteen rulers reigned for about two centuries, that the beginning of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas probably coincided with the first regnal year of the first king of the family and that the latest known ruler probably ended her reign not long after the year 200 of the era. The feudatory families using the same era must have originally owed complete allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, but gradually became semi-independent with the growth of their power. In this connection we have to refer especially to the following inscriptions: (1) Dhenkanal plate (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1756) of Jayasinha of which the date may be year 128; (2) Jamdapir plate (*ibid.*, No. 1487) of Raṇabhaṇja of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa of the year 288 which seems to be really 188; (3) Adipur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, p. 157) of Narendrabhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa of the year 293 which seems to be really 193; (4) Talmul plate (Bhandarkar's List, No. 2043) of Dhruvānanda of the year 293 (which is really 193 as is now clearly demonstrated by the recently discovered Daspalla Plate of Devānanda II, dated 184), etc.¹ Unfortunately there was so long no clue to determine with precision the date either of any of the Bhauma-Kara kings themselves or of their feudatories.

While editing the two Ganjam plates of Daṇḍi-mahādevī (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, pp. 137ff.), one of which bears the date in the year 180, Kielhorn was inclined to assign the records on palaeographical grounds to about the thirteenth century A.D. But this theory has been completely negatived by the facts of Orissan history since known or realised. The imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) conquered the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the twelfth century and it is impossible to place the rule of the imperial Bhauma-Karas in the same region after that date. It is again certain now that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga conquered the Puri-Cuttack region from the Somavaṁśīs and this fact proves that the Bhauma-Karas must have flourished before the Somavaṁśī occupation of lower

1 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1. The confusion between the 100 (*lu*) and 200 (*lū*) symbols is due to that between the medial signs of *u* and *ū* in Orissan epigraphs (*op. cit.*, p. 326).

Orissa. We shall have to revert to this point at a later stage; but it may be observed here that the Bhauma-Kara rule in the Puri-Cuttack region must be assigned to a date considerably earlier than 1100 A.D. Moreover the Bhauma-Karas throughout used numerical symbols instead of figures and this fact suggests that their rule did not survive long after 1000 A.D.

When the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara I was published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, pp. 1 ff., Sylvain Lévi suggested that the same Bhauma-Kara king should be identified with the Buddhist (Mahāyānist) king of Wu-ch'a (Odra=Orissa) in South India, who sent, according to Chinese sources, an autograph manuscript to the Chinese emperor in 795 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 363-64). The name of this Buddhist ruler of Orissa is given in Chinese translation as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion", which was believed to suggest an original *Śubhakarasiṃha* (or °*kesarin*). Numerous inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas discovered since then, however, show beyond doubt that there was no such name in the family in question. Recently Dr. R.C. Majumdar was inclined to identify "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion", flourishing in Orissa in 795 A.D., with the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara I Unmattasiṃha, father of the above Śubhākara I (cf. *Ancient India*, Banaras, 1952, p. 410). This is partially true because the word *siṃha* actually occurs in one of this king's names, although the name of *Paramasaugata* Śubhākara III surnamed *Siṃhadhvaja* has so far not been mentioned in this connection. These identifications would place the two centuries of Bhauma-Kara rule roughly in the period 750-950 A.D. or 775-975 A.D. Bhandarkar in his *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Appendix to *Ep. Ind.*, vols. XIX-XXIII, suggests the identification of the Bhauma-Kara era with the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. and this view was accepted by some scholars including the writer of these lines. According to this suggestion, the Bhauma-Karas flourished roughly in the period 606-806 A.D. It must, however, be admitted that the palaeography of the Bhauma-Kara records clearly suggests a date later than that implied by Bhandarkar's theory.² I have recently come across evidence which

2 Bhandarkar was conscious of this difficulty and that is why he read the symbol for 100 in the Bhauma-Kara records as 200. Pandit Misra accepts Bhandarkar's identification of the eras but reads the symbol correctly.

throws some welcome light on the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings and shows that they flourished in an age even a little later than that suggested by Lévi and Majumdar.

In *IHQ.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225ff., I have discussed the genealogy and chronology of the Bhañja kings of Dhṛtipura and Vañjulvaka, who apparently owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. The records of these Bhañjas, so far published, bear dates in the regnal years of particular kings. But the date of at least one king, Raṇabhañja, who was the great-grandfather of Vidyādhara-bhañja, could be determined on the strength of the fact that his father-in-law was the Kadamba chief Niyārṇava or Niyārṇama who was the grandfather of Dharmakheḍi, known from his records dated in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.D.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.D.). Raṇabhañja and his father-in-law thus appear to have flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. I have also shown how the successors of Raṇabhañja, viz., his sons, Neṭṭabhañja (or Neṭṭ) Kalyāṇakalasa I and Digbhañja, and Digbhañja's son Śilābhañja II and grandson Vidyādhara-bhañja, had all very short reigns so that a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva is known to have served all the four kings, while a goldsmith named Durgadeva not only served all of them but also Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II, son of Vidyādhara-bhañja. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadeva and Durgadeva probably covered about half a century, the reign of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. As regards the reign-period of Raṇabhañja, I have also pointed out that he flourished earlier than, or was an earlier contemporary of, the Somavaṃśī monarch Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circa* 970-1000 A.D.) who conquered the Dhṛtipura region and pushed these Bhañjas to the Vañjulvaka area.

The recently discovered Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja is the only record of the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka, which bears the date in an era. It is dated in the year 198 of apparently the Bhauma-Kara era. This Śatrubhañja was the son of Śilābhañja (who may not have ruled) and the great-grandson (possibly a mistake for 'grandson') of Vidyādhara-bhañja. King Śatrubhañja ruling in the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era may be assigned roughly to the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

In any case, the date of his inscription (written in numerical

figures instead of symbols) does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. In the first place, we know that certain dates in the ninth and tenth decades of the second century of the era in question are written with numerical symbols instead of figures and that the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived long after the end of the tenth century. Secondly, it will be clear from a study of my paper entitled "A Note on the Later Somavaṁśis" (IHQ., vol. XXII, pp. 300-07) that lower Orissa comprising the major part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled from Jajpur in the Cuttack District for about two centuries (i.e. down to about the year 200 of their era, so that the date of Śatrubhaṅja's charter in the year 198 fell about the latest days of Bhauma-Kara rule), was included in the empire of the Somavaṁśis during the rule of Caṇḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (circa 1025-60 A.D.) and his son Uddyotakeśarin Mahābhavagupta IV (circa 1060-80 A.D.). There seems little doubt now that the Bhauma-Karas were supplanted by the Somavaṁśis about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. and that the epoch of their era falls in the first half of the ninth century.

The above conclusion is strikingly supported by another piece of evidence that has recently come to light. We have referred above to the two newly discovered Baud plates of Pṛthvī-mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, dated year 158. In both these records, the reigning queen is described in the following verses:

Śītāṁśu-vaṁśa-nalina-śrī-vikāś-aika-bhāsvataḥ/
rājñah Svabhāvatuṅgasya Kosal-ādhipateḥ sutā//,
sutāyāṁ śrī-Yaśovṛddher = yaśovṛddhi-vidhāyinī/
śrīman-Nṛttā-mahādevyāṁ kṛta-janma-parigrahā//,
śrīmat-Kuṣumabhārasya mahādevī mahardhikā/
pṛthvīm Pṛthvī-mahādevī cira-kālam = apālayat//,
sva-dhāma- mahima-prāpta-bhuvana-tritay-onnatih//,
yā jagatsu Tribhuvana-mahādev = īti viśrutā//.

Now the above description shows that the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛthvī-mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī, who was on the throne in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, was the daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the Somavaṁśa of Kosala (South Kosala). Attention may be drawn to the mention of the same Somavaṁśi king in the following verse occurring in a grant of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I

who flourished in *circa* 970-1000 A.D. (*JPASB.*, 1905, pp. 14-16; cf. "A Note on the Genealogy of the Somavaiṣṭis"; *IHQ.*, vol. XX, pp. 76-82).

So = bhūn = nṛpaḥ Soma-kul-ābja-bhānuḥ
 Svabhāvatuṅgo nija-pauruṣeṇa/
 yaḥ Kosalā-pālana-kaumud-īndur =
 vijitya Caityān = vitatāna lakṣmīm³ //

The above verse shows that, just as Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was also called Dharmakandarpa (*IHQ.*, vol. XX. p. 250), his son and successor Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I enjoyed the additional name Svabhāvatuṅga. There is little doubt therefore that the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛthvī-mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II ruling in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era was the daughter of the Somavaiṣṭi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I Svabhāvatuṅga (*circa* 970-1000 A.D.) of South Kosala and flourished about the end of the tenth century A.D. Supposing that the queen was ruling contemporaneously with her father, the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era may be assigned to the period *circa* 812-42 A.D., that is to say, roughly in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

There is a verse in the unpublished Baud plates of Pṛthvī-mahādevī, which says that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne as a result of the death of both her husband and the latter's younger brother without leaving any heir. The later records of the family, however, show that two sons of her husband's brother actually became kings apparently at a later date. It is thus clear that queen Pṛthvī-mahādevī ignored the claims of the sons of her husband's brother and this may have led to a struggle between herself and her husband's relations who ultimately deprived her of the throne. There is some evidence to suggest that Pṛthvī-mahādevī succeeded in occupying the Bhauma-Kara throne with the active help of her father, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, whose success against the Bhauma-Karas' feudatories at Dhṛtipura has already been referred to above. The early Somavaiṣṭis claimed to have been rulers of Kosala and are known to have held sway over the Patna-Sonepur region in the upper valley of the

3 I have recently examined the original record. The published transcript of the inscription is full of errors. See my article on it recently contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.

Mahānadī (cf. the identifications of the places mentioned in the Somavaṃśī charters as proposed by Misra in his *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, Calcutta, pp. 66 ff.). It is, however, interesting to note that only one copper plate charter of the early Somavaṃśīs is known to record the grant of a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tosalā (the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region) which formed an integral part of the Bhauma-Kara dominions. Curiously enough this record belongs to Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I and is dated in his ninth regnal year (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 351-55). The village granted by this charter was Candagrāma in Maraḍa-vaṣaya, the names being identified respectively with those of modern Chandgan about 32 miles to the south-east of Cuttack and Marada-Hariharpur in the Cuttack District. We are inclined to believe that the grant of a village in lower Orissa by Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I is not entirely unconnected with his daughter's accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne. It seems that the grant was made about the time when the Kosalan forces defeated the Bhaume-Kara antagonists of Pṛthvī-mahādevī and raised her to the throne. In that case, the ninth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I may not be far removed from the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, when queen Pṛthvī-mahādevī issued her charters. As the ninth regnal year of the Somavaṃśī king may be roughly assigned to 978 A. D., the Bhauma-Kara era seems to have started from a date near about 820 A.D., that is to say, about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The recently discovered Daspalla plates give the following details of the date: Year 198 (of the Bhauma-Kara era), Viṣuva-saṅkrānti, Sunday, Pañcamī, Mṛgaśiro-nakṣatra. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. III, p. 60, suggests that this date corresponds to March 23, 1029 A.D. In that case, the Bhauma-Kara era started from 1031 A.D. Since the above combination is rather rare and would suit very few dates in a century, the Daspalla plates may be regarded as having offered the most valuable clue in determining the initial year of the era in question.

D. C. SIRCAR

The Later Imperial Guptas

It is now generally believed that Skanda Gupta, whose last known date is 467 A.D., was succeeded by his half-brother Puru Gupta¹. The order of succession after Puru Gupta is somewhat confusing. Before the discovery of the Nālandā seals of Budha Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta², scholars generally depended on the Chinese accounts and the Bhitari seal for determining this order³, but now the evidences of the epigraphs are more taken into account⁴, and the Chinese sources are rejected as unworthy of credence⁵. In this paper, I have tried to re-examine both the sources⁶.

In the *Life* and the *Si-yu-ki*, we have got an account of the patrons of the Nālandā Vihāra. The patrons are as follows:—Śakrāditya, Buddha Gupta rāja, Tathāgata rāja, Bālāditya and Vajra. I requested Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the University of Santiniketan to look into the original Chinese texts, and in a letter he kindly supplied me with the following notes:—“I have looked into the original Chinese passages of the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang and the *Life*. Of the five kings mentioned Buddha Gupta and Vajra are clearly stated to be the sons of Śakrāditya and Bālāditya respectively. But Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya are not described as ‘sons’ but simply as ‘descendants’ or ‘successors’. In regard to Tathāgata Gupta it is said that ‘he vigorously continued the traditions of former kings’. This portion is probably omitted by Beal. There is another account in the *She-kia-fang-che* written by Tao-si-yan, a disciple of Hiuen Tsang, better known than Hui-li, who wrote the *Life*. The *She-kia-fang-che* has not been translated into English, but I am giving below my translation.

¹ This was first suggested by Pannalal, *Hindusthan Review*, 1918, Jan; *JBORS.*, 1918, 412-7.

² *MASt.*, 64, 66; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, 235; *IHQ.*, XIX, 119.

³ *PHAI.*, 494-505.

⁴ *NHIP.*, VI, 184ff.

⁵ The Chinese account has been rejected for it makes Budha Gupta a son of Śakrāditya, i.e. Kumāra Gupta I, while the Nālandā seal shows that he was the son of Puru Gupta, *IHQ.*, XIX, 123-4; but see *infra*.

⁶ I have used the AMMK as a corroborative source only.

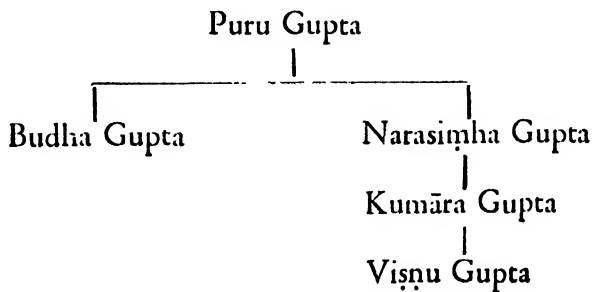
You will see that there is no mention of the relationship between the various kings.

‘In earlier and later times five kings joined together and built it. The first was Śakrāditya.....he started building this monastery. The second king was Buddha Gupta.....the third was Tathāgata Gupta.....the fourth was Bālāditya... the fifth was Vajra’.

The author of the *She-kia-fang-che* had taken it down as he had heard it from Hiuen Tsang. So also Hui-li. The *Si-yu-ki* was not probably all written by Hiuen Tsang, but compiled by some of his assistants from his notes. Under these circumstances, it may be presumed that Hiuen Tsang simply meant ‘successor’ or ‘descendant’ and nothing more. The *She-kia-fang-che* would support such an interpretation”.

From the above note it is clear that the Chinese account of the Gupta kings only speaks of the donors of the Nālandā Vihāra, and obviously those members of the dynasty who made no contributions have been left out. So we can only take the list as showing the relative position of the donors as coming one after another, and cannot draw any inference regarding relationship among them.

The Bhitari and the Nālandā seals, on the other hand, present us with the following genealogy of the Later Imperial Gupta kings:—



In the epigraphic records, we have references to three more Gupta rulers—(a) Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnath inscription of the year 154; (b) Vaiṣya Gupta of the Gunaighar inscription of the year 188, and of the Nālandā seal; (c) Bhānu Gupta of the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of the year 191.

According to some scholars, Kumāra Gupta II of the Sarnath record is identical with Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta,⁷ and thus

7 This was first suggested by Pannalal.

Puru Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta II are represented as ruling one after another between c. 467 A.D., the last known date of Skanda Gupta, and c. 476 A.D., the initial year of Budha Gupta. The main difficulty in accepting the view is that, first, we have to accommodate three kings within a comparatively short period of nine years⁸; and secondly, Narasiṃha Gupta is the only Imperial Gupta king who takes the title of Bālāditya, while from Yuan Chwang's account it is clear that 'Bālāditya defeated Mihirakula', the Hunā tyrant, who ruled in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. If we place Narasiṃha Gupta before c. 473 A.D., then we have to find out another Bālāditya, different from Narasiṃha Gupta, to be a contemporary of Mihirakula. But the existence of a second Bālāditya among the Imperial Guptas ruling in the first quarter of the sixth century is not known from any source. Thus the only alternative left to us is to place Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta, and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta, after Budha Gupta whose last known date is 495-6 A.D.

In the present state of our knowledge, it may be stated then that Puru Gupta and Kumāra Gupta II of the Sarnath record ruled successively from 467 A.D. to c. 476 A.D. and then followed the reign of Budha Gupta for twenty years, c. 476 A.D.—495/6 A.D.

According to the Chinese sources, Tathāgata rāja ruled after Budha Gupta but before Bālāditya i.e., Narasiṃha Gupta. The epigraphic records, on the other hand, show that one Vaiṇya Gupta was ruling in c. 507 A.D. and Bhānu Gupta in c. 510 A.D. Again, while Vaiṇya Gupta's record has been found only in the "eastern" part of India, the record of Bhānu Gupta comes only from the "western". This seems to show that at the beginning of the sixth

8 N. N. Das Gupta thinks that "although the name of Budha Gupta first occurs in a Sarnath inscription of G.E. 157 (=A.D. 476) we must note that he is styled simply as mahārāja therein, and if it has any significance, he has to be regarded only as a governor of the Sarnath region at that time. This will reduce the duration of Budha Gupta's reign by a few years which may conveniently be allotted to the reigns of his immediate predecessors" (B. C. Law Vol. I, 621). But unfortunately we cannot agree with this view, for, in the first place, Budha Gupta is not given the title of mahārāja in the Sarnath record of G.E. 157, and, secondly, the expression "*Prthivīm Budha Gupte praśāsati*", occurring in that record is conclusive on the status of the ruler.

century there was a partition of the Gupta empire—(a) Vaiṇya Gupta ruling over the eastern part, (b) Tathāgata rājā over the central part, and (c) Bhānu Gupta over the western part.

(a) The fact that Vaiṇya Gupta's inscription has been found only at Gunaighar, in the district of Comilla which has produced no other Gupta record, seems to prove that he was a king of the Vaṅga-Samataṭa region⁹. There is, however, no evidence of Gupta rule in this tract after Vaiṇya Gupta, while the epigraphic records show that immediately after his reign a new dynasty came to power and continued its rule till c. 570 A.D.¹⁰.

(b) According to the Chinese sources Tathāgata rājā ruled after Budha Gupta, and as he is associated with the monastery of Nālandā, he seems to have ruled over the central part of the empire. There thus may be some truth in the statement of the AMMK that after the death of Budha, two kings in the Gupta line were crowned, one in Magadha and another in Gauḍa. The view that Tathāgata rājā is identical with Vaiṇya Gupta cannot be accepted, for in the records, the latter never adopts the *biruda* of Tathāgata.

Bālāditya rājā (Narasimha Gupta), who ruled after Tathāgata rājā, is expressly called 'the king of Magadha' in the Chinese records. Bālāditya's successor Vajra is said to have been killed by a king of Mid-India. This king of Mid-India can be no other than Yaśodharman who in his Mandasor inscription of 532 A.D. claims victory over the kings of the east and the north (v. 7), and in another Mandasor record claims to have conquered the lands as far as the Lauhitya.

Thus between c. 495-6 A.D., the last known date of Budha Gupta, and c. 532 A.D. there ruled in the central part of the Gupta empire, Tathāgata Gupta, Bālāditya, Narasimha Gupta and Vajra. The question now arises—whether we should place Kumāra Gupta III,

9 Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that in the fragmentary seal of Vaiṇya Gupta there is some remnant of the mātṛā "U" at the place of his father's name, a fact which shows that the name of Vaiṇya Gupta's father was "Ukārānta" and he restores it as Puru Gupta (*IHQ.*, XXIV, 67). If we follow this view, then Puru Gupta's descendants partitioned among themselves the central and the eastern part of the empire. Bhānu Gupta's relationship with the line of Puru Gupta is not known,

10 *History of Bengal*, I, 51-4,

the son of Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya, and Kumāra Gupta's son Viṣṇu within this period ?

Bālāditya is said to have defeated the Huṇa king Mihirakula, the son of Toramāna. We have got an inscription of Toramāna from Eran dated in the first year of his reign and another of Mihirakula from Gwalior dated in the fifteenth regnal year. Now, from Eran we have got the inscription of Bhānu Gupta dated 510 A.D. Thus Toramāna must have conquered Eran in or after 510 A.D. i.e., the first year of Toramāna = 510 A.D. or 510 A.D. + x. The Records, on the other hand, inform us that Mihirakula was defeated by Bālāditya, and after this defeat he took refuge in Kashmir. This shows that Bālāditya defeated Mihirakula some time after 525 A.D. Bālāditya possibly died a little after this victory, and was succeeded by Vajra who was killed evidently before 532 A.D. Thus we have hardly any room for the rule of Bālāditya's son Kumāra Gupta III before 532 A.D.

If the above view be accepted, then the Damodarpur inscription of 543-4 A.D. should be ascribed to either Kumāra Gupta III or to his son Viṣṇu Gupta, and not to any early kings of the Later Gupta dynasty¹¹. It may be pointed out here that in the Aphsad inscription, which discloses the early history of the dynasty, no king before Ādityasena, who ruled in the latter part of the 7th century A.D., is given any imperial distinction. On the other hand, titles like śrī, deva, kṣītiśa cuḍāmani etc. given to these monarchs show that they had no imperial pretensions. In the Damodarpur record, on the other hand, the king whose name is unfortunately missing, is described as Paramadaivata-Paramabhṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja.

It is difficult to determine how long the rule of Kumāra Gupta III, to whom should be ascribed the famous Bhitari seal, and of his son Viṣṇu Gupta, identified with Candrāditya of the coins, continued. The assumption of the title of 'mahārājādhirāja' by the Maukharī king Īśānavarman who extended his arms as far as the land of Gauḍa, as stated in the Hārāpā inscription of 554 A.D., and the absence of any Gupta record from North-India, appear to prove that the rule of the Imperial Guptas in the "central" part came to an end before 554 A.D.¹²

11 This record is generally ascribed to one of the early members of the Later Gupta dynasty. Sen, *Some Hist. Aspects. Ins. Bengal*, 239-40.

12 If a tradition recorded by Jināsena is to be believed the Gupta power collapsed in A.D. 551. *PHAI*, 627.

(c) In the "western" part there is no definite proof of Gupta rule after 510 A.D. i.e., after the time of Bhānu Gupta. The Betul (518 A.D.) and the Khoh (529 A.D.) plates of the Parivrājaka M. Saṃkhoba refer to "the enjoyment of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings", but mention no name of the Gupta monarch. These references cannot prove that the Guptas were still enjoying their sway over these regions. The non-mention of the name of the Gupta king is significant, specially when we find that the Khoh inscription of Samarnātha of 513 A.D.¹³ is silent regarding the Guptas. A parallel case is found in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The phrase "Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta" occurs in the inscriptions of Dhruvasena I, who ruled at least upto 545 A.D. Such instances remind us of the history of the Later Mughals. The old emperor Shah Alam was confined to Delhi, the Mughal empire was torn to pieces, and independent lords were ruling in different tracts. But they all owed nominal allegiance to the old emperor, and some even issued coins in his name. In case of the Guptas, it may be said that references to them by the Parivrājaka and the Maitraka kings show that they were still maintaining a precarious existence in some corner of the Āryāvarta.

SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

¹³ *Select Inscriptions*, I, 370.

The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra

The present text is based on the manuscript discovered at Gilgit in Kashmir¹.

Of the five parts constituting the Vinayapiṭaka the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* is the nucleus around which the other parts have grown. It deals with the ecclesiastical offences requiring confession and expiation. In other words, it contains a set of rules to be observed by the members of the order in their daily lives. There are two codes—one for the monks (bhikṣus) called the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa Sūtra*, and the other for the nuns (bhikṣuṇīs) known as the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa Sūtra*. The former consists of eight sections, viz., *pārājikā*, *saṃghāvaśeṣā* (*saṃghādisesā*), *anīyatā*, *naiḥsargikāpāyantikā* (*nissaggiyā pācittiyā*), *pāyantikā* (*pācittiyā*), *pratideśanīyā* (*pāṭidesanīyā*), *śaikṣyā* (*sekhiyā*) and *adbikaraṇaśamathā* (*adbikarṇasamathā*), containing 227 offences, while the latter only seven sections comprising 311—there being no section corresponding to the *anīyata* section of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa Sūtra*. The offences have been grouped together according to their gravity, i.e., from the graver to the lighter. Thus the text opens with the *pārājikā*—the most serious offence entailing expulsion from the order and closes with the *pratideśanīyā* (*pāṭidesanīyā*)—the lightest one, the breach of which entails formal confession only. The *Prātimokṣa* rules, it may be remembered, were recited every fortnight in the poṣadha (uposatha) ceremony requiring all members of the order to confess their sins of omission and commission, committed, if any, during the preceding fortnight—the reason being to make the offender as well as the assembly pure. The *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* has several versions. It is preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese—the last two being translations from Sanskrit.

The present text, edited for the first time, is in Sanskrit. It belongs to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school which made its appearance in the early centuries of the Christian era in Kashmir and neighbouring regions, extending thence to Central Asia, Tibet and China. It had a canon of its own in Sanskrit—although a complete copy

1 Five volumes, entitled *Gilgit Manuscripts*, on Vinaya, edited by Dr. N. Dutt, have already appeared in print, creating a stir in the world of Buddhist scholarship. They, however, cover only a portion of the whole collection.

of it is still a desideratum². Some of them exist in fragments of manuscripts and others lost beyond recovery³. It is a matter for gratification that the manuscripts discovered at Gilgit cover a portion of the Vinaya-piṭaka and the present text of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, as already observed, belongs to this collection. They were written on birchbark in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century A.D.⁴ There is, therefore, no reasonable room for doubt that our text belonged to that period. It was translated into Tibetan in the 9th century A.D., and appears in the fifth volume, Ca, of the *Bkaḥ ḥgyur*, *Ḥdul-ba*, covering 30 folios only. The text known as the *So-sor-thar-pa* in Tibetan has been edited and translated into English by MM. S. C. Vidyabhusana⁵. There are no less than seven commentaries of this text extant in Tibetan. The number of commentaries proves its importance. From Nanjio⁶ we learn that the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* was also translated into Chinese by I-tsing (710 A.D.) who was interested in the Mūlasarvāstivāda school.

There is another Sanskrit text of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* edited by L. Finot⁷ on the basis of the manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia by Pelliot. It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school. It has a fair affinity with our *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* and the Pāli *Pātimokkha Sutta*. But there are divergences in the wording, arrangement and number of rules⁸. For instance, we read अवदलविपरिणतेन for उदीर्णविपरिणतेन (*Samghāvaśeṣā* No. 2) and आज्ञाविहेठनात् for अन्यवादविहेठनात् (*Pāṭayantikā* or *Pāyantikā* No. 13) of the Sarvāstivādin version. Nos. 26, 27 and 28 of the *naiḥsargikā pāṭayantikā* (*naiḥsargikā pāyantikā*) rules of the Sarvāstivādin version correspond to those of 28, 26 and 27 respectively of the Mūlasarvāstivādin version—the numbers of each of the two versions answer to 24, 28 and 29 respectively of the *nissaggiyā pācittiya* (Skt. *naiḥsargikā pāyantikā*) rules of the Pāli *Pātimokkha*. Nos. 7, 8 and 27 of the

2 Winternitz—*A History of Indian literature*, vol. II, p. 231ff.

3 Hoernle—*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*.

4 *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. I, preface, and vol. III, pt. II, Introduction.

5 Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

6 Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1110.

7 *Journal Asiatique*, Novembre-Décembre, 1913. It is to be noted that the text is incomplete.

8 For details Skt. *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* and the Pāli *Pātimokkha Sutta*.

pātayantikā (*pāyantikā*) rules of the Sarvāstivādin agree with those of 8, 7 and 24 respectively of the Mūlasarvāstivādin—they are 8, 9 and 25 respectively of the Pāli *Pātimokkha*. The *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* of the Sarvāstivāda school gives the number of *pātayantikā* or *pāyantikā* rules as 90 and the *śaikṣya* rules as 113 as against 90 and 108 respectively of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and the Pāli *Pātimokkha* has 92 *pācittiyā* rules (Skt. *pātayantikā* or *pāyantikā* rules) and 75 *sekhiyā* rules (Skt. *śaikṣyā* rules) only—the total number being 263 in the Sarvāstivādin version, 258 in the Mūlasarvāstivādin version and 227 in the Pāli. Both the versions contain at the beginning and at the end verses, but they are wanting in Pāli. Thus the Sarvāstivādin and the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts have slight and negligible differences.

Traditions differ as to the relationship⁹ between the versions of the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda school. All these traditions have of course tried to establish the great antiquity of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, though, in fact, this sect came into existence at a later date and claimed that it preserved the original tenets (*mūla*) of the Sarvāstivāda school.

Our manuscript is well-written though there are a few mistakes of the scribe with lacunae here and there. These lacunae have been supplied from the Tibetan text which is an infallible guide in this respect. The passages reconstructed have been put within brackets. Words not joined together according to the rules of sandhi in the manuscript have been retained in the present edition. In reconstructing the missing portions of the manuscript Finot's edition of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* has been of much help to me. In several instances words and sentences with slight modifications, have been quoted *verbatim* in our edition. No. 82 of the *pāyantikā* rules of our text is a *verbatim* quotation from the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 543). The *Mahāvvyutpatti* (ed. Sakakiki) has also been consulted in the preparation of this edition.

Incidentally it may be observed that the fragments of the manuscripts of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa Sūtra* of the Sarvāstivāda school found at Turfan have been edited by E. Waldschmidt¹⁰. It exists in Tibetan and Chinese translations.

9 Winternitz—*A History of Indian literature*, vol.II, p. 231, fn. 2. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Eng. Tran. from Tibetan, pt. II, by E. Obermiller, pp. 99-100.

10 E. Waldschmidt—*Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*.

नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

प्रणम्य पूर्व^१ जगति प्रधानं
दुःखालयोत्तीर्णमनन्तपारम् ।
सर्वज्ञशिक्षापद[रत्नकोश]^१-
मुद्घाटयाम्यार्यगणस्य मध्ये ॥१॥
तैलोक्यविख्यातयशःपताकं
सद्धर्मनादोदितसिंहनादम् ।
सर्वङ्गपा^२सादितरत्नकोशं
ब्रह्माण्डचूडामणिघृष्टपादम् ॥२॥

कृत्स्नस्यागाधपारस्य बौद्धस्य^३ विनयोदधेः ।
प्रतिष्ठाहृदयं^४ सारं प्रातिमोक्षोऽयमुच्यते ॥३॥
एष सद्धर्मराजस्य सद्धर्मालेख्यसंग्रहः ।
एष भिक्षुवणिगग्रामः शिक्षापण्य-महापणः ॥४॥
एष दौ[ः]शील्य^५दुष्टानां विषविष्कम्भणोऽगदः ।
एष यौवन^६विभ्रान्त-[कुमारद्विपदाङ्कुशः]^७ ॥५॥
एष सागरगम्भीरसंसारोत्तरणप्लवः ।
एष ह्येशजयो मार्गो नृपतेरग्र[नायकः]^८ ॥६॥
एष मोक्षपुरारोहे^९ मूलसोपानवत् स्थितः^{१०} ।
निर्वृते मयि युष्माकमेष शास्तेत्यभिष्टुतः^{११} ॥७॥

1 Ms. बुद्ध... ; Tib. dkon mchog-snod.

2 Tib. thams-cad-mkhyen-pa = सर्वज्ञेन ।

3 Ms. बोधस्य ; Tib. Sañs-rgyas.

4 Ms. ०प्यादय ; Tib. sñiñ.

5 Ms. दोशील्य ।

6 Ms. सौवन ; Tib. lañ-tso.

7 Tib. rkañ-gñis-gzhon-nuñi-lcags-kyu-yin.

8 Tib. ḥdren-pa.

9 Ms. रूपो ; Tib. ḥjug-paḥi.

10 Ms. ०वर्जितः ; Tib. tham-skas-gzhi-dañ-ḥdra-bar-gnas.

11 Cf. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, chapt. VI. 1. This verse is followed immediately by three other verses in the Sanskrit original. The first two agree partly with the Tibetan, while the third is quite wanting in it, and as such

प्रातिमोक्षस्य श्रवणं दुर्लभं कल्पकोटिभिः ।
 ग्रहणं धारणं चैव प्रतिपत्तिः सुदुर्लभा ॥८॥
 बुद्धानां सुखमुत्पादः सुखा धर्मस्य धीपणा ।
 सुखा संघस्य सामग्री श्रमणानां तपः सुखम्^१ ॥९॥
 सुखं दर्शनमार्याणां संवासोऽपि^२ सता सुखः ।
 अदर्शनेन बालानां नित्यमेव सुखं भवेत्^३ ॥१०॥
 सुखं दृष्टाः शीलवन्तः^४ सुखं दृष्टा बहुश्रुताः ।
 [अर्हन्तश्च]^५ सुखं दृष्टा विप्रमुक्तपुनर्भवाः ॥११॥
 सुखा नदी सुखं तीर्थं^६ सुखं धर्मजितो जनः ।
 सुखं प्रज्ञाप्रतीलम्भो ह्यस्मिमानक्षयः^७ सुखम् ॥१२॥
 सुखो हि वासः कृतनिश्चयानां
 जितेन्द्रियाणां च बहुश्रुतानाम् ।
 शान्तेष्वरण्येषु^८ जरां गतानां
 वनेषु निर्वापितयौवनानाम् ॥१३॥

निर्गतमायुष्मन्तो ग्रीष्माणां यावत् तावदवशिष्टम् । अतिक्रामति
 आयुः [आग]तं^९ ज[रामर]णम्^{१०} । प्रलङ्घ्यते शास्तुः^{११} शासनम् । अप्र-

they are omitted in the body of the text. We, however, reproduce the verses, as in the original, in the footnote here : —

- (i) स्वयं क्षुममक्षं चैव यत्नतः ।
 निहताक्षः समन्तः ॥
 (ii) नैभ्यत्यदीक्षितैः ।
 प्रातिमोक्षः सदा रक्षो भिक्षुभिर्निर्मुमुक्षुभिः ॥
 (iii) जित प्रवृत्तेष्वहिताय ।
 कृतोपकारेष्वपकर्तुमीहते ॥

For Tibetan *Sa-sor-thar-pa*, ed. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, pp. 45 and 46, verses 7 and 11.

1 Cf. *Dhammapada*, Buddhavagga, v. 16.

2 Ms. °वादोऽपि ; Tib. ḥgrog-s-pa.

3 Cf. *Dhammapada*, Sukhavagga, v. 10

4 Ms. °सिलभन्तः ; Tib. tshul-khrims-ldan-pa.

5 Tib. dgra-bcom-pa-dag.

6 Ms. सुखानती सूयतीर्थः ; Tib. ḥjug-nogs-bde-baḥi-chu-kluñ-lde.

7 Ms. ह्यन्मि° ; Tib. ṅaḥo-ṅa-rgyal-zad-pa-bde.

8 Ms. °णेषु ।

9-10 Tib, rga-ba-dañ. ḥchi-ba-mñon-par-ḥoñ-zhiñ

11 Ms. शास्तो ।

मादेन आयुष्मद्विर्योगः[क]रणीयः¹ । अप्रमादाधिगता²हि तथागतानामर्हतां
सम्यक्संबुद्धानां बोधिरिति वा [अ]प्येवंभागीयाः³ कुशला धर्मा बोधि-
पक्ष्य[तः]⁴ ।⁵ किं [भगवतः श्रावक]⁵ संघस्य पूर्वकालकरणीयमल्पोऽर्थो[ऽल्प-
कृत्यम्]⁶ । [अना]गतानामायुष्मन्तश्छन्दपरिशुद्धिं चारोचयत आरोचितां
च प्रवेदयत ।

[प्रणम्य]⁸ शाक्यसिंहाय [भूत्वा ह्यस्मै कृताञ्जलिः]⁹ ।

प्रातिमोक्षं प्रवक्ष्यामि विनयं तच्छृणोतु नः¹⁰ ॥१४॥

श्रुत्वा च [तत्करोत्वत्र यथा]¹¹ प्रोक्तं [महर्षिणा]¹² ।

अणुमात्रेष्ववद्येषु¹³ भवता यत्नकारिणा¹⁴ ॥१५॥

यत्नाद्भूतं [सततं यश्च चित्तहयं मुखवचनेषु अनुसारयति]¹⁵ ।

प्रातिमोक्षखलीनमपि सदृशं शतकण्टकं तीक्ष्णं येनाति [विध्यते]¹⁶ ॥१६॥

[महात्मनः ये वचनमात्रेण यथाभागात् न निवर्तन्ते ।

पुरुषतुरगास्ते खलु क्लेशरणजयिनो]¹⁷ भविष्यन्ति ॥१७॥

येषां तु खलीनमिदं न विद्यते नापि [अन्तःकार्म]¹⁸ ।

[ते]¹⁹ तु²⁰ क्लेशरणविमथ्यता उद्दामा विभ्रमिष्यन्ति ॥१८॥

शृणोतु भदन्तः संघः अद्य²¹ संघस्य पोषधः [चातुर्दशिकः]²² पाञ्चदशिको²³

1 Tib. rnal-hbyor-du-byaho.

2 Ms. अप्रमसमाधिगता ; Tib. bag-yod-pas-thob-po.

3 Tib. gzhan-yañ-gañ-dag-de lta-bu-dañ-mthun-pa.

4 Tib. byañ chub-kyi-phyogs-rnamis.

5 Ms. omits the words; Tib. bcom-ldan-hdas kyi-ñan-thos kyi.

6 Tib. bya-ba ñuñ ba.

7 Tib. ma-lhags-pa.

8-9 So *sor-thar-pa*, p. 48, v. 18, l. 1-2.

10 Tib. ña-las = मत् ।

11 So *sor-thar-pa*, p. 48, v. 19, l. 2.

12 Tib. dran-sroñ-chen-po-yis,

13 Ms. अवत्येषु ; Tib. kha-na-ma-tho.

14 Ms. नप्रकारिणा ; Tib. rtun-ciñ-byed-pa-ñid-du-gyis.

15 So *sor-thar-pa*, p. 48, v. 20, l. 1-2.

16 Tib. gzer.

17 So *sor-thar-pa*, p. 48, v. 21.

18 Tib. nañ-duñ-ñan-hdod-par.

19 Tib. de-dag.

20 *Metri causa*.

21 Ms. अन्य ; Tib. deñ.

22 Tib. bcu-bzhi-pa.

23 Ms. दशको ।

वा सचेत्' संघस्य प्राप्तकालं क्षमेतानुजानीयात् संघो यत्संघस्य पोषधं कुर्यात् प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमु[द्देश]येदेपाक्षतिः ।

पोषधं वयमायुष्मन् करिष्यामः प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमुद्देशामः । यस्य स्यात् आपत्तिः तेन आवि]१ कर्तव्या । आपत्त्यां ? १ [असत्यां]२ तूष्णीं भवितव्यम् । तूष्णींभावेन३ च वयम् आयुष्मतः [परि]शुद्धान्४ वेदयिष्यामः । यथापि प्रत्येकं पृष्ठस्य भिक्षोर्व्याकरणं भवति एवमे[वं एवरूपा]यं५ भिक्षु[पर्षदि या]६ यत् त्रिरप्यनुश्रावणं१० भवति । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरेवंरूपायां भिक्षुपर्षदि यावत् त्रिरपि [अनुश्राव्यमाने स्म]रन्११ सतीमापत्तिं नाविष्करोति संप्रजानन् मृषावादोऽस्य भवति । संप्रजानन् मृषावादः खलु आयुष्मन्तः अन्तरायिको धर्म उक्तो भगवता । तस्मात् स्मरता भिक्षुणा आपन्नेन विशुद्धापेक्षेण सती आपत्तिराविष्कर्तव्या । आविष्कृतेनास्य फासु भवति नाविष्कृतेन न भवति ।]१२

[उद्दिष्टं खलु मयायुष्मन्तः प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशनिदानम् । तत्रायुष्मतः पृच्छामि—कच्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि पृच्छामि—कच्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात् तूष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।]१३

[चत्वारः पाराजिका धर्माः ।]१४

[इमे खलु आयुष्मन्तश्चत्वारः पाराजिका धर्मा अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।]१५

1 The word सचेत्, Pāli सचे, conveys the sense of Skt. तच्चेत् ; cf. Pāli सेप्यथा=Skt. तद्यथा ।

2 Tib. gdon-no.

3 Tib. ltuñ-ba-yod-pa-des-lhthol-cig.

4 Ms. ग्रामत्यां ; Tib. ltuñ-ba.

5 Tib. med-na.

6 Ms. तुष्णिभावेन ; Tib. mi-smra-na.

7 Ms. शुद्ध ; Tib. yoñs-su-dag-par.

8 Tib. de-bzhin-du.....l̥di-lta bu.

9 Tib. dge-sloñ-gi-l̥khor.

10 Ms. ...वर्ति ; Tib. lan-gsum-du-dril̥ho.

11 Tib. bsgrags-pa-na. dran.

12 So-sor-thar-pa, p. 49, l. 18-20 and p. 50, l. 1-2; cf. Finot's edition.

13 Ibid., p. 50, l. 2-7; cf. op. cit.

14 Tib. pham-par-l̥gyur-baḥi-chos-bzhi.

15 So-sor-thar-pa, p. 50, l. 14-15; cf. Finot's edition.

[यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षूणां शिक्षासाजीवसमापन्नः¹ शिक्षामप्रत्याख्याय शिक्षा-
दौर्वल्यमनाविष्कृत्याब्रह्मचर्यं² मैथुनं धर्मं³ प्रतिसेवते अन्ततस्तिर्यग्योनिगतयापि
सार्धं⁴, अयमपि भिक्षुः पाराजिको भवत्यसंवास्यः ।]²

२ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्ग्रामगतमरण्यगतं वा परेषां अदत्तं स्तेयसंख्यानमा-
ददीत यद्रूपेणादत्तादानेन राजा दैनं गृहीत्वा राजमात्रो वा हन्याद्वा संवध्नी-
याद्वा प्रवासयेद्वा एवं चैनं वदेत्—त्वं भोः पुरुष चौरोऽसि चालोऽसि
स्तेनोऽसीत्येवंरूपं अदत्तं भिक्षुः आददीत, अयमपि भिक्षुः पाराजिको भवत्य
संवास्यः ।]³

३ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मनुष्यं वा मनुष्यविग्रहं वा खहस्तेन संचिन्त्य जीविताद्
व्यपरोपयेत्]⁴ शस्त्रं वैनामाधारयेत् शस्त्रधारकं वास्य पर्येते मरणाय चैनं
समादापयेत् मरणवर्णं वास्यानुसंवर्णयेत् । एवं चैनं वदेत्—हंभो पुरुष किं
तव पापकेनाशुचिना दुर्जीवितेन [मृतं ते भो पुरुष जीविताद्]⁵ "रमिति-
चिन्तानुमतैश्चित्तसंकल्पैरनेकपर्यायेण मरणाय चैनं समादापयेत् [मरणवर्णं]⁶
वास्य अनुसं[वर्णयेत्]⁷ स च तेन कालं कुर्यान्, अयमपि भिक्षुः पाराजिको
भवत्यसंवास्यः ।

४ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनभिजानन्नपरिजानन्नसन्तमसंविद्यमानमनुत्तरमनुष्यधर्ममल
[मार्यं]⁸ विशेषा[धिगमं ज्ञानं वा]⁹ दर्शनं स्पशेविहारतां वा प्रतिजानीयादिदं
जानामीदं पश्यामीति स परेण समयेन समनुयुज्यमानो वा असमनुयुज्यमानो
वा [आपन्नो]¹⁰ विशुद्धिं प्रक्ष्यैवं वदेदजानन्नेवाहमायु[ष्मन्तोऽ]¹¹ चोचं [जाना-
मीति]¹² पश्यामीति रिक्तं तुच्छं मृयाव्यपलपनमन्यत्राभि[मानात्]¹³, अयमपि
भिक्षुः [पाराजिको भवत्यसं]¹⁴ वास्यः¹⁵ ।

1 *Suttavibhaṅga* (p. 24, P.T.S., ed.): sāḍvaṇa nāma yaṇa bhagavatā
paññattaṇa sikkhāpadaṇa etaṇa sāḍivaṇa nāma. Here sāḍiva = sajjiva, ā in sā⁹
being due to compensation.

2 *So-sor-thar-pa*, p. 50, l. 16-18 and p. 51, l. 1-2; cf. Finot's edition.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 51, l. 3 9; cf. *op. cit.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 51, l. 10-11.

5 Ms. तेन ; Tib. khyod.

6 Tib. gson-pa bas shi-blaḥo-zhes zer-zhiñ.

7 Tib. ḥchi baḥi-bśnags-pa.

8 Tib. brjod-de.

9 Tib. ḥphags pa.

10 Tib. bye-brag-thob-pa-dañ. shes-pa-dañ.

11 Tib. khas-ḥches-pa-las-de-ltuñ-ba-byuñ-ba.

12 Tib. tshe-dañ-ldan-pa-dag.

13 Tib. sheso.

14 Tib. mñon-paḥi-ñia-rgyal.

15 Tib. pham-par-gyur-pa-yin-gyis. gnas-par-mi-byaḥo.

16 Ms. वास्य ।

उद्दिष्टा मयायुष्मन्तश्चत्वारः पाराजिका धर्मा, येषां भिक्षुरन्यतमान्यतम मापत्तिमध्यापत्य न लभते भिक्षुभिः सार्धं संवासं भोगं वा, यथापूर्वं च तथा¹ पश्चात् पाराजिको भवत्यसंवास्यः ।

तत्राहमायुष्मन्तः परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीं²मेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

[संघावशेषा धर्मोः ।]³

इमे⁴ खलु आयुष्मन्तस्त्रयोदश संघावशेषा धर्मा अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति—

१. संचिन्त्य शुक्रविसृष्टिरन्यत्र स्वप्नान्तरात्, [संघा]⁵वशेषः ।

२. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरवलविपरिणतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामेण सार्धं काय[संसर्ग]⁶ समापद्येत हस्तग्रहणं वा वाहुग्रहणं वा वेणीग्रहणं वा अन्यतमान्यतमस्य वा अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गसंस्पर्शनं वा अङ्गमर्पणं स्वीकुर्यात्, संघावशेषः ।

३. यः पुनर्भिक्षु[रवदलविपरिणतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामं दुष्टुलया]⁷ पापि-कया असभ्यया मैथुनोपसंहितया [वाचा आभाषेत]⁸ यथापि [तां युवा]⁹ युवतिं, संघावशेषः ।

४. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरवदलविपरिणतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामस्य पुरस्तादात्मन-स्कायपरि[चर्या] संवर्णयेत् एतदग्रं मातृस्वसः परि]¹⁰चर्याणां यदुत मादृशं भिक्षुं शीलवन्तं कल्याण[धर्मं ब्रह्मचारिण]¹¹मनेन धर्मेण परिचरेत् यदुत मैथुनोपसंहितेन इति, संघावशेषः ।

५. [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः संच]¹²रित्वं समापद्येत स्त्रियं वा पुरुषमतेन पुरुषं वा

1 Ms. यथा ; Tib. de-bzhin.

2 Tib. can-mi-smra-bas.

3 Tib. dge-ḥdun-lhag-maḥi-chos.

4 Ms. इह ; Tib. ḥdi-dag.

5 Tib. dge-ḥdun-lhag-ma.

6 Tib. reg-par-byed.

7 Tib. dral-ciñ-gyur-paḥi-sems-kyis. bud-med-kyi-yul-la-gnas-nan-len.

8 Tib. tshig.....smras-na.

9 Tib. skyes-bu-na.

10 Tib. lus-kyi-bsñen-bkur-bya-baḥi--phyir.....sru-ḥdi-bsñen-bkur-byas-pa-rnam-s-kyi-mchog.

11 Tib. dge-baḥi-chos-can-tshans-par-spyod-pa.

12 Tib. yañ-dge-slon-gaṇ. smyan-byed-na.

स्त्रीमतेन जायात्वेन वा जा[रीत्वेन वा अन्ततस्तत्]¹ क्षणिकायामपि, संघा-
वशेषः ।

६. स्वयं याचिता भिक्षुणा कुटिं कारयित्वा अस्वा[मिकं आत्मोद्देशकां]²
प्रामाणिका कुटिः कारयितव्या । तत्त्वेदं कुत्र्याः प्रमाणं—दैर्घ्येण द्वादश
वितस्तयः [सुगतवितस्त्या तिर्य्यक्]³ सप्तान्तरतः । तेन भिक्षुणा भिक्षवोऽ-
भिनेतव्याः वास्तुदर्शनाय । अभिनीतैर्भिक्षुभिः वास्तु द्रष्टव्यम् अनारम्भं सपरि-
क्रमम् । सारम्भे चेद्भिक्षुर्वास्तुन्यपराक्रमे स्वयं याचितां कुटिं कारयेत्
अस्वामिकां आत्मोद्देशकां भिक्षूँश्च [नाभिनयेद्वास्तु]⁴ दर्शनाय अनभिनीतै-
र्भिक्षुभिः अदर्शितवास्तुनि प्रमाणं चातिक्रमेत्, संघावशेषः ।

७. [महल्लकं पुनर्भिक्षुः]⁵ विहारं कारय[मानः स]⁶ स्वामिकं संघोद्देशकं
तेन भिक्षुणा भिक्षवोऽभिहितव्या वास्तुदर्शनाय । अतः [अभिनी]⁷तैर्भिक्षु-
भिर्वास्तु द्रष्टव्यमनारम्भं सपरिक्रमम् । सारम्भे चेद्भिक्षुर्वास्तुन्यपराक्रमे
महन्तं विहारं कारयित्वा यत्सस्वामिकं संघोद्देशकं [भिक्षूँश्च नाभिनयेत्]⁸
वास्तुदर्शनाय, [संघा]⁹वशेषः ।

८. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्द्विष्टोद्देशादप्रतीतः शुद्धं भिक्षुं [अमूलकेन पाराजिकेन
धर्मेणानुध्वंस]¹⁰येदप्येवैनं ब्रह्मचर्याच्छ्यावयेयमिति, तस्य च अपरेण समयेन
[सम]¹¹नुयुज्यमानो [वा असमनुयुज्यमानो वा [¹²अमूलकमेव स्वाधिकरणं
[भवेद्, भिक्षुश्च द्वेषे प्रतिष्ठेद्, द्वेषेणावोच]¹³मिति, संघावशेषः ।

९. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्द्विष्टोद्देशादप्रतीतः शुद्धं भिक्षुं [अन्यस्य वा अन्यथा-
भागियस्य अधिकरणस्य कञ्चिदेव लेशमात्रं धर्ममुपादाय]¹⁴ पाराजिकेन धर्मेण

1 Tib. mdzaḥ-na-mo-ñid-du...tha-na-thaṅ-ḥgaḥ-phrad-pa-yañ ruñ-stc.

2 Tib. bdag-po-med. bdag-gyi-phyir.

3 Tib. bde-bar-gshegs-paḥi-mtholḥi...zheñ-du-mtho.

4 Tib. gzhi-blta-baḥi phyir.....mi-khrid-dam.

5 Tib. dge-sloñ-gis.....chen-po.

6 Tib. bdag-po-yod-pa.....brtsig-tu-ḥjug-na.

7 Tib. khrid-paḥi.

8 Tib. dge-sloñ-dag-kyañ-mi-khrid-dam.

9 Tib. dge-ḥdun-lhag-ma.

10 Tib. gzhi-med-par-pham-par-gyur-baḥi-chos-kyis-skur-pa-las.

11 Tib. dris-kyañ-ruñ.

12 Tib. ma-dris-kyañ-ruñ.

13 Tib. yin-la. dge-sloñ-yañ-zhe-sdañ-la-gnas-par. zhe-sdañ-gis-smras-
so-zhe-na.

14 Tib. gzhan-la-bsten-pa-ni-gzhan-kyi-chaḥo. de-dañ-rjes-su-mthun-pa-
ni-gzhan-gyi-cha-dañ-mthun-paḥo.

अनुध्वंसयेदयेवैनं ब्रह्मचर्याच्छ्याययेयमिति, तस्य च अपरेण समयेन [समनुयु]¹ ज्यमानस्य वा असमनुयुज्यमानस्य वा अन्यभागीयं तदधिकरणं भवति, कश्चिदेव लेशोद्देशमात्रो धर्म उपात्तो भवति, भिक्षुश्च [द्वेषे प्रतिष्ठेद्]² द्वेषा³दवोचमिति, संघावशेषः ।

१०. यः पुनर्भिक्षुः समग्रस्य संघस्य भेदाय पराक्रमेत् भेदकरणसंवर्तनीयं चाधिकरणं समाधाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेत्, स भिक्षुर्भिक्षुभिरिदं स्याद्वचनीयः—मा त्वं आयुष्मन् समग्रस्य संघस्य भेदाय पराक्रमेत् भेदकरणसंवर्तनीयं चाधिकरणं समाधाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठ । समेत्वायुष्मन् सार्धं संघेन [समग्रे]⁴ संघसहितः संमोदमानो विवदमानः एकाग्रधर्मेद्देशः एकक्षीरोदकीभूतः शास्तु दर्शयमानः सुखं स्पर्शं विहारं तु निखृज त्वमायुष्मन् इदमेवंरूपं संघभेदकरणं वस्तु । एवं चेत्स भिक्षुर्भिक्षुभिरुच्यमानस्तथैव वस्तु समाधाय [प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेत्]⁵ शुद्धस्तु प्रति[निःखृजे]⁶“दित्येवं कुशलं न च प्रतिनिःखृजेत् द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्यः समनुशासितव्यः [तस्य वस्तुनः]⁷ प्रतिनिःसर्गाय, द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयुज्यमानः समनुशिष्यमानस्तद्वस्तु [प्रतिनिःखृजेत् इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेत् प्रतिनिःखृजेत्, संघा]⁸वशेषः ।

११. तस्य खलु भिक्षोर्भिक्षवः स्युर्सहाय[काः व्यग्रवादिनः एको वा द्वौ वा संबहुला वा, ते तान् भिक्षून् एव]⁹ वदेयुः—मा यूयं [आयुष्मन्तः तं भिक्षुं कल्याणं वा पापकं वा किञ्चिद् वदत, तत् कस्माद्धेतोर्धर्मवादी]¹⁰ आयुष्मन्तो भिक्षुर्विनयवादी [च सोऽस्माकं चैषश्छन्दं च रुचिञ्चादाय तु व्याहरति, जानंश्च स भिक्षुर्भाषते नाजानन् यच्चास्य भिक्षोः रोचते च क्षमते च अस्माकमपि रोचते च क्षमते च इति । ते भिक्षवो भिक्षुभिरेव¹ स्युर्वचनीया—मायुष्मन्त एव

1 Tib. dris-kyan-ruñ.

2 Tib. zhe-sdañ-la-gnas-pas.

3 Tib. zhe-sdañ-gis (द्वेषेण).

4 Tib. mi-phyed-la.

5 Tib. rab-tu-bzuñ-ste-ḥdug-na.

6 Tib. gtoñ-na.

7 Tib. gzhi-de.

8 Tib. gzhi-de-gtoñ-na, de-lta-na-legs, gal-te-mi-gtoñ-na-dge-ḥdun-lhag-maḥo.

9 Tib. dge-sloñ-mi-mthun-par-smra-ba-ñid-kyi-rjesu-phyogs-pa-gcig-gam, gñis-sam, mañ-po-dag-yod-ciñ-gal-te-de-dag-dge-sloñ-rnams-la-ḥdi-skad-ces.

10 Tib. tshe-dañ-ldan-pa-dag-khyed-cag-dge-yañ-ruñ-sdig-kyan-ruñ, dge-sloñ-ḥdi-la-ci-yañ-ma-smra-shig-de-ciñ-phyir-zhe-na, tshe-dañ-ldan-pa-dag-dge-sloñ-ḥdi-ni-chos-smra-ba.

वदन्तु, न च स भिक्षुर्धर्मवादी न विनयवादी अधर्मं चैषो विनयं चास्माकम् छन्दं रुचिञ्चादाय तु व्याहरति, नाजानंश्च स भिक्षु भर्षते जानंश्च यञ्चास्य भिक्षोः रोचते च क्षमते च तवायुष्मनोऽपि संघभेदः न रोचते मायुष्मतामपि संघभेदो रोचते, समेत्यायुष्मन्तः संघेन, समग्रो हि संघो संमोदमानो अविवदमानो एकाग्रधर्मोद्देशः एकक्षीरोदकोभूतः शास्तु दर्शयमानः सुखं स्पर्शं विहरन्तु । तिष्ठ मा त्वम् आयुष्मन् संघभेदाय निःसृज इमामेवंरूपां संघभेदकरां कथाम् । एवं ते भिक्षवो भिक्षुभिः द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्याः सुमनुशासितव्यास्तस्य वस्तुनः प्रतिनिःसर्गाय, द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्याः समनुशासितव्याः प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः, इत्येवं कुशलं नो चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः, संघावशेषः ।]¹

१२. [संवहुला भिक्षवः अन्यतमं ग्रामं वा निगमं वा उपनिःश्रित्य विहरेयुस्ते च स्युः कुलद्रूपकाः पापसमाचाराः, तेषां च कुलानि दुष्टानि दृश्येरन् वा श्रूयेरन् वा प्रज्ञायेरन् वा । ते भिक्षवः भिक्षुभिरेवं स्युर्वचनीयाः—आयुष्मन्तः कुलद्रूपकाः पापसमाचाराः, युष्माकम् कुलानि दुष्टानि दृश्यन्ते पि श्रूयन्ते पि प्रज्ञायन्ते पि, युष्माकम् च ते पापसमाचारा दृश्यन्ते पि श्रूयन्ते पि प्रज्ञायन्ते पि, प्रक्रमञ्च आयुष्मन्तः यूयं अस्मादावासादलं युष्माकं इह वासेनेति । एवं चेत् ते भिक्षवस्तान् भिक्षून् वदेयुः—छन्दगामिन आयुष्मन्तः भिक्षव द्वेपगामिनो मोहगामिनो भयगामिनश्च, एवंप्रवासायाः आपत्त्याः एकस्य भिक्षून् प्रवासयत्येकस्य भिक्षून् न प्रवासयन्तीति । तत्र भिक्षवः एवं स्युर्वचनीयाः—मा आयुष्मन्तरेवं वदत, एकस्य भिक्षवश्छन्दगामिनो द्वेपगामिनो मोहगामिनो भयगामिनश्च, एवंप्रवासायाः आपत्त्याः एकस्य भिक्षून् प्रवासयत्येकस्य भिक्षून् न प्रवासयन्तीति । तत् कस्माद्धेतोः । नेमे भिक्षवश्छन्दगामिनो द्वेपगामिनो मोहगामिनो भयगामिनश्च, आयुष्मन्तः खलु कुलद्रूपकाः पापसमाचाराः, युष्माकं कुलानि दुष्टानि दृश्यन्ते पि श्रूयन्ते पि, पापकाश्च युष्माकम् समाचारा दृश्यन्ते पि श्रूयन्तेपि प्रज्ञायन्ते पि । भिक्षव आयुष्मन्तश्छन्दगामिनो द्वेपगामिनो मोहगामिनो भयगामिनश्च—निःसृजत इमामेवंरूपां कथाम् । ते भिक्षवः भिक्षुभिरेवं भासितव्याः—एवं चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्याः समनुशासितव्यास्तस्य प्रतिनिःसर्गाय, द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्याः समनुशासितव्याः प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेयुः संघावशेषः ।]²

1 *So-sor-thar-pa*, p. 57, l. 8-20 and p. 58, l. 1-18; cf. Finot's edition.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 58, l. 19- p. 60, l. 12; cf. Finot's edition.

१३. [भिक्षुरिह कश्चित् दुर्वाच्यस्वभावो भवति, उद्देश्यपर्यापन्नैः शिक्षापदैः सुगतसूत्रपर्यापन्नैः भिक्षुभिः सहधर्मेण सहविनयेनोच्यमान आत्मानमवचनीयं करोति—मा मामायुष्मन्तः यूयं किञ्चिद्वदत कल्याणमकल्याणं वा, अहमपि आयुष्मतः न किञ्चित् वक्ष्यामि कल्याणमकल्याणं वा, विरमन्तु आयुष्मन्तः मम वचनात्, अहमपि विरंस्यामि युष्माकं वचनादिति । स भिक्षु-भिर्भिक्षुभिरेवं स्याद्वचनीयो—आयुष्मन् उद्देश्यपर्यापन्नैः शिक्षापदैः सुगतसूत्र-पर्यापन्नैः भिक्षुभिः सहधर्मेण सहविनयेनोच्यमान आत्मानं त्वं अवचनीयं करोसि, आयुष्मन् वचनीयमेव आत्मानं करोतु, आयुष्मन्तं भिक्षवो सहधर्मेण सहविनयेन वदन्तु, आयुष्मानपि भिक्षून् सहधर्मेण सहविनयेन वदतु, एवं संबद्धा हि तस्य भगवतः तथागतस्य अर्हतो सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य परिपद् यदिदं अन्योन्यवचनात् अन्योन्यापत्तिव्युत्थापनादिति मायुष्मन् आत्मानं अवचनीयं करोतु । स भिक्षुभिर्भिक्षुभिरेवं भासितव्यः—एवं चेत् तद्वस्तु प्रतिनिःसृजेत् इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेत् द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्यः समनुशासितव्यस्तस्य प्रतिनिःसर्गाय, द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्यः समनुशासितव्यः प्रतिनिःसृजेत् तद्वस्तु इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेत् प्रतिनिःसृजेत्, संघावशेषः ।]¹

[उद्दिष्टा मयायुष्मन्तस्त्रयोदश संघावशेषा धर्माः । नव प्रथमापत्तयश्चत्वारो यावत्तृतीयका, येषां भिक्षुरन्यतमान्यनमं धर्ममापन्नो यावत् कालं जानन् प्रतिष्ठादयति तावत् कालं तेन अकामतः पर्युषितव्यम् । अकामतः पर्युषितपरिवासेन भिक्षुणा उत्तरिषड्रात्रं संघमानत्वं चर्त्तव्यं भवति ।]² चीर्णमानत्तो भिक्षुरावर्हणप्रतिबद्धः कृतानुधर्मः भिक्षुसंघस्य आराधितचित्तो यत्रस्याद्विंशतिगणो भिक्षु[संघस्त]³ त्व च[सो]⁴ भिक्षुरावर्हितव्यः । एकेनापि चेद्दूनो विंशतिगणो भिक्षुसंघस्तं भिक्षुमावर्हेत् स च भिक्षुरनावीडस्ते च भिक्षवो गार्हाः, तत्र समयः ।

यत्राहं आयुष्मतः परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवैतद् धारयामि ।

(To be continued)

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

1 So-sor-thar-pa, p. 60, l. 13- p. 61, l. 21; cf. Finot's edition.

2 Ibid., p. 62, l. 1-8; cf. op. cit.

3 Tib. dgc-hdun.

4 Tib. de. .

MISCELLANY

Kauṭilya on Royal Authority

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (December 1952), pp. 307-311. Prof. U. N. Ghoshal has sought to show that my view of the exaltation of royal authority by Kauṭilya is wrong. I have read the article more than once with all the care that a contribution from so reputed a scholar should command and I see no reason to resile from the position I have been holding. It is not my intention to start a controversy, but just to say a few things that may explain my meaning better and possibly be of some assistance to Prof. Ghoshal in reconsidering the subject.

I would not be understood as escaping responsibility for my view or sheltering myself under big names, but it is just fair to say that the line of thought I have followed was suggested to me by the excellent work done on Kauṭilya by Breloer in his *Kauṭilya-Studien* and by the masterly *exposé* of Hellenistic history by Rostovtzeff. The latter has indeed observed: 'If one believes in the historical character and early date of the kernel of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and in the radical centralization of Indian government effected by Candragupta on Hellenistic lines, one may say that Candragupta did more to Hellenize India than Demetrius or Menander'. And this Hellenism of the Hellenistic age was by no means a pure Greek product, but held in solution a very large amount of Achaemenid Iranism in its polity and economy. Others may or may not agree with me in this, but I have found that the vexed question of the date and authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra* finds its most convincing solution when the book is viewed against the Hellenistic *milieu* into which many of its novel and unique features fit very well. I need not repeat here what I have set forth elsewhere and the interested reader may find the idea elaborated in the *Excursus* on the *Arthaśāstra* in the *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*.

Kauṭilya, it is clear, was both a traditionalist and an innovator like all great minds of Ancient India, Śaṅkara being perhaps the most leading example. Like the Englishmen who were only 'declaring' their Constitution every time, never professing to, alter, innovate or

change, our great writers sought always to unfold existing knowledge or interpret tradition but never to lay down anything overtly on their own responsibility. Kauṭilya appears in this regard to be a little more explicit than the others, for he has said on the one hand, at the very opening of his work, that he bases it on the writings on Arthaśāstra of all his predecessors in the field (*pūrvācāryas*), but elsewhere at the end of II. 9, Śāsanādihikāra he significantly declares that he took account not only of previous literature but of all practices before determining the place of *Śāsana* (royal edict) in the polity :

*sarva-śāstrāṇyanukramya prayogānupalabhyā ca/
Kauṭilyena narendrārthe śāsanasya vidibh kṛtāḥ//*

O. Stein has sought to show that this chapter is based on models furnished by Roman imperial letters; but Roman imperial tradition harks back to earlier systems and perhaps ultimately to Achaemenid imperialism. However that may be, the Śāsanādihikāra like the whole of Book II *Adhyakṣapracāra* was an innovation of Kauṭilya based evidently on contemporary practice in foreign states.

To convince the reader further that I am in no way begging the question, I would invite his attention to the unique definition of *Arthaśāstra* which Kauṭilya gives at the beginning of the last Book, *Tantrayukti*—the scientific conventions he employs. He says :

*“manuṣyāṇām vṛttir-arthaḥ; manuṣyavatī bhūmir-ityarthaḥ;
tasyaḥ pṛthivyāḥ lābhapālanopāyaḥ śāstram arthaśāstram iti”.*

This sharply defined view of *artha* and its *śāstra* is not found elsewhere in Indian literature so far as I know, and is peculiar to Kauṭilya like the *Adhyakṣapracāra*.

Prof. Ghoshal objects to my summary of Kauṭilya's verses at the end of III, 1 and he gives what he calls 'the correct translation', of the verses in question; in this translation I take it that 'Satya is established upon truth' is a misprint for 'dharma is established upon truth', for the text is 'tatra satye sthito dharmah'. With this change I am quite willing to accept the translation offered by the Professor, subject to one reservation. To translate *vivādārtha* as 'every suit' is an unwarranted simplification of the matter; the nuance of the original is really untranslatable and something like 'what helps the suit' or 'what helps the determination of a dispute' is nearer the true meaning;

and this has four bases (*catuṣpādah*) viz., *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *caritra* and *rājaśāsana*, each succeeding member in the group overriding the preceding ones.

Then Prof. Ghoshal suggests that these verses deal with the law of procedure and not with substantive law, an argument he is able to use mainly on account of his having rendered *vivādārtha* into 'every suit'; but I am not aware that the modern distinction between substantive law and adjective law, or even between civil and criminal law was known to our ancient jurists in those forms, and this suggestion will have to be viewed with caution.

Prof. Ghoshal proceeds to find the enumeration of the sources of 'substantive law' in the verse:

*anuśāsaddhi dharmena vyavahāreṇa samsthayā/
nyāyena ca caturthena caturantām mahīm jayet/|*

and affirms that in this enumeration 'there is not the slightest reference to the king's edict'. Owing to his presuppositions he fails to see that this verse only repeats what has been said already: *dharma* and *vyavahāra* are the same entities as in the earlier verse; *samsthā* is just another term for *caritra* which has been defined earlier as *puṁsām saṅgraha*, roughly social tradition; and the last member *nyāya* (reason) stands for royal orders based on reason or common sense. Kauṭilya is here only emphasising what has been stated already. There is nothing in the context to show that Kauṭilya has changed his subject from the consideration of suits and procedural law to the sources of substantive law.

Prof. Ghoshal thinks that *samsthā* stands for *dharmasāstra* (canon law) and *nyāya* for *vyāvahārika śāstra* (common law) and depends on the next verse for this view: That verse reads:

*samsthāyā dharmasāstreṇa śāstram vā vyāvahārikam/
yasminnrthe virudhyeta dharmenārtham viniścayet/|*

Here Prof. Ghoshal's interpretation is as unconvincing as it is unique. No other scholar who has commented on this verse has thought of a *vyāvahārika śāstra* (common law) as he does: not Ganapati Sastri, nor J. J. Meyer. Ganapati Sastri understands *śāstram* to mean royal edict and *vyāvahārika* to mean 'the evidence of witnesses'—he glosses: *śāstram vā vyāvahārikam śāstram rājaśāsanam vā vyāvahārikam sākṣivacanam vā*. J. J. Meyer construes the verse differently reading

the first word not as *samsthayā* but as *samsthāyā* as given by Shama Sastri or *samsthā yā* (two words)—this difference need not be pursued here as it not material to my argument in the present context. The main point for notice is that Meyer has no doubt whatever that *nyāya* in the previous verse and *dharmanyāya* in the succeeding one both mean royal edict: he writes ‘*Nyāya und dharmanyāya sind hier gleichbedeutend mit rājājñā und rājasāsana*’ (p. 242 n. 2)

In fact Kauṭilya devotes two verses beginning *samsthayā dharmasāstreṇa* and *śāstram vipratipadyeta* to ‘conflict of laws’; in the first he says where Dharmaśāstra is in conflict with custom or contract, the material interest involved (*artha*) is to be determined in the light of *dharmā*; but in the next verse he practically reverses this rule and says roundly that *śāstra* becomes inapplicable when it conflicts with any (*kenacit*) *dharmanyāya* i.e. a royal edict based on right reason. This shows in fact that Kauṭilya attaches an unusually high degree of importance and validity to the royal edict, and it is difficult to understand in the face of this Prof. Ghoshal’s complaint: ‘Of his further statement namely that each one in this list (i.e. *dharmā*, *vyavahāra*, *caritra* and *rājasāsana*) overrules those mentioned before, Kauṭilya unfortunately gives us no explanation’ (p. 309). It is because Kauṭilya has given a full explanation, and that explanation openly proclaims *nyāya* (edict) to be superior to *śāstra* in certain contexts, that Yājñavalkya, who is often found versifying Kauṭilya’s dicta in terms (cf. Jolly’s Intr. pp. 12 ff.), makes it a point to enter an emphatic caveat against Kauṭilya’s position and says, II. 21 :

*smṛtyor virodhe nyāyastu balavān vyavahārataḥ/
arthaśāstrāt tu balavad dharmasāstram iti sthitih//*

Nyāya in this verse has of course nothing in common with the same word as used by Kauṭilya in the context we have been considering.

Then Prof. Ghoshal points to ‘positive evidence to show that the king in Kauṭilya’s thought, as in the thought of the *Smṛtis* is subject to the rule of positive law’ and cites the rule that the king must recover or make good stolen property and also the rule that the king should pay out to Brahmins thirty times the value of any fines collected wrongfully from his subjects. In these respects Kauṭilya is just repeating traditional, and possibly idealized statements, but it has really no bearing on the constitutional position of the royal edict as a source of law.

Lastly, Prof. Ghoshal proceeds to quote Kātyāyana and other writers to prove that according to them the king's edict should respect established custom and would be void in so far as it conflicted with such custom. This is a position which is plain as a pikestaff and needs no demonstration. But my view is that it proves nothing with regard to Kauṭilya's view of the matter. To import the ideas of Brhaspati, Kātyāyana and a host of other writers to interpret Kauṭilya is to deny yourself the opportunity of understanding the unique nature of the great contribution of Kauṭilya to the science of Polity. It is to follow the traditional method of our old commentators, the method of *samanvaya* which always seeks to show that our thought on any subject was one and unchanging through the ages, that all Upaniṣads speak with one voice and elaborate only one system of thought and so on. That method may be of use to those who pursue a 'perennial philosophy' as it has been called. But our concern is not with a perennial metaphysic; but with the temporal and the concrete; our concern must be to note and study differences and account for them, not to slur them or explain them away. *Samanvaya* if imported into historical thinking would be its bane and must be resisted by a historian with all his strength.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

An ancient Reference to Menander's Invasion

It has already been noticed by Indian historians that Menander's invasion is referred to in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and in the Yuga Purāṇa chapter of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*. About the latter: 'As in all Purāṇic literature, we find here a record of past events in the conventional form of prophecy; and, however late the work may be in its present form, there is no reason to doubt that, like the Purāṇas generally, it embodies a more ancient tradition. From the passage in question we gather that the viciously valiant Greeks' after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañcāla country (in the doab between the Jumna and Ganges), and Mathurā, reached Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra); but they did not remain in the midland country because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country—an evident allusion to the internecine struggle between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides'. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 544).

Prof E. J. Rapson writes further about the evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya*: 'This account is to some extent supported and supplemented by two examples given by the grammarian Patañjali (a contemporary of the Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra) in illustration of the use of the imperfect tense to denote an event which has recently happened—'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa: the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā' (Nagari, near Chitor in Rājputānā)'. *Camb. History.*, I. 544).

Pāṇini *sūtra* III. 2. 111 (*Anadyatane laṇ*) has the following *vārttika* by Kātyāyana:

परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये ।

On this Patañjali comments:

परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ।

अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् । अरुणद् यवनो मध्यमिकाम् ।

(Keilhorn's *Bhāṣya*, vol. II. p. 119)

The purport is that the imperfect tense is used to denote a past event, if that relates to an important public happening (*loka-vijñāta*), provided that the same should have had taken place in the life-time of the speaker so as to be within the possibility of his actually witnessing it (*prayoktur darśana-viṣaye*).

This important grammatical rule was accepted or paraphrased by almost all the subsequent grammarians, leading to a series of illustrations of historical interest, referring to important events contemporaneous

with their authors. The Cāndra grammar incorporates it in the *vṛtti* to *sūtra* I. 2. 81 and gives the example :

अजयत् जर्तो हृणान् ।

This refers to a defeat of the Hūṇas by Jarta, which certainly must have been an event that happened in the life-time of Candra. *Jarta* was emended as *Gupta* by Dr. Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 58), but a commentary called *Siddhaprabhā*, being a recast of Haima system on the lines of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, cites this example as अजैषीद् गर्तो हृणान्¹. However, more manuscript material should decide whether the reading was *Jarta*, *Garta* or *Gupta*.

In the Jainendra grammar, there is no separate *sūtra* like that in Hema Candra (ख्याते दृश्ये ५१२।८), but its *mahāvṛtti* commentary by Abhayanandi incorporated both the purport of Kātyāyana's above *vārttika* and two traditional illustrations. Abhayanandi writes on Jainendra *sūtra* II. 2. 92 (अनद्यतने लुङ्); परोक्षे लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुः शक्यदर्शनत्वन दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः । अरुणन्महेन्द्रो मथुराम् । अरुणयवनः साकेतम्² ।

The examples, 'Mahendra besieged Mathurā; the Yavana besieged Sāketa', do not refer to the time of Abhayanandi himself, but were taken by him from more ancient authors, obviously of the Pāṇinian system, the latter one is the same as in Patañjali. The first illustration is really important and adds to our knowledge. It appears to me that the reading अरुणन्महेन्द्रो मथुराम् is corrupt, the correct text must have been अरुणन्मेनेन्द्रो मथुराम्. Menandra is the form of the name that occurs in Kharoṣṭhī script on the coins of Menander. It must have been the current form among the people in North India and

1 सूत्र ५१२।८, विशेषविवक्षा व्यामिश्रे भूतेऽद्यतनी । अजैषीद् गर्तो हृणान् ।

The event here is not contemporaneous with the author, hence the use of सामान्यभूत. In Hema Chandra's own *Laghuvṛtti* on this *sūtra*, the example is रामो वनमगमत्. No intention of a particular ancient or past period is implied, but a general statement is made. [*Śrī-Siddhaprabhā-Vyākaraṇam śrī-Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsanānugatam*, printed in 1934 at the Jainbandha Mudraṇālaya, Indore]

2 Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa with Abhayanandi's Mahāvṛtti, (published by E. J. Lazarus, Banaras, 1918), p. 286.

This Abhayanandi muni may have been the same as mentioned as one of his teachers by Nemi Candra Siddhānta-Cakravartī, himself a teacher of the famous minister Cāmuṇḍarāya (960-990 A.B). See Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 585.

the Panjab. Patañjali's reference is to a two-pronged advance of the Yavana armies, beyond the Beās eastwards and southwards to Madhyamikā in Rājputānā. In the eastward Yavana invasion, Mathurā must have been the first focal point, as recorded in the *Gārgī Samhitā* also. This now finds support from an unexpected quarter. Both Mathurā and Sāketa constituted two important stages of the Yavana's route to Pataliputra. The third stage must have been Vārāṇasī, where in the course of the digging at Rājghāṭ-Kāshī, a number of clay seals were found, depicting Greek deities, e.g. Pallas Athene, standing facing, holding shield in left hand and a spear in right as on the coins of Demetrius (*Camb. History*, I. 464, pl. III, 5); Nike, a winged figure standing to right holding a wreath in the outstretched left hand and with a palm over left shoulder; Apollo standing to right, holding bow in left hand resting on the ground and arrow in right hand raised up (cf. coins of Eucratides, *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 19, pl. II); Heracles, a naked figure standing to left and resting his left elbow on a club, with right hand placed on the hip, a type occurring on the coins of Demetrius (*Camb. History*, I. 589, pl. III. 3); head of an Indo-Greek king (on several sealings), resembling the head of Demetrius on his coins. It is well-known that one of the passages in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela has been read as *mathurāṁ apayāto yavanarāja Dimita*. In the eighth year of his reign Khāravela attacked Rājagṛha and Gorathagiri. As an escape from this sledge-hammer impact, swift and sudden, the Yavana commander, whatever be his name, withdrew with his forces to Mathurā, which seems to have been made the base of operations on this eastward expedition. The grammatical illustration अरुणन्मेन्द्रो मथुराम् is thus a welcome addition to the evidence bearing on the point.

To check up the emended reading *Menandra* for *Mahendra* enquiries were made for manuscripts in Ahmedabad through Pandit Sukhalal Ji and in Pāṭan through muni Puṇyavijaya Ji, but none were found. Pūjyapāda Devanandin was a Digambara author and manuscripts of his work are expected to be met in the Bhaṇḍāras of South India, specially at Mūḍabidri to which place also it is proposed to direct enquiries.

Was Jalāl-ud-Din the Patron of Rāyamukūṭa ?

(a rejoinder)

We are glad to find that a Mahomedan scholar like Mr. Dani has come forward (*IHQ.*, XXVIII, pp. 215-24) to examine our views about the great Sanskrit author Rāyamukūṭa, and also to find that even a later paper written by us in Bengali has not escaped his notice (*ib.*, p. 221 fn.). We must state here that the young scholar has neither met our arguments nor given up his own views refuted by them¹. We take this opportunity of restating our views briefly after 12 years and answering his criticisms.

The remarkable career of Rāyamukūṭa is divided into three distinct periods. He received his academic degree (Mīśra) from his teacher named Śrīdhara Mīśra, as stated by him in the beginning of his commentary on *Raghu* (श्रीश्रीधराद्विधृतमिश्रपदः सुमिश्रात् verse 6—the lacuna in L. 2181 is filled up from a Nepal Ms. of *Māgha-tīkā*: H. P. Śāstrī's *Darbar Library Cat.*, I, pp. 254-5). We have suggested this teacher's identity with one 'Mahopādhyāya Śrīdhara Mīśra' (fl. 1400-50 A.D.), the father of a *Smārta* scholar Śrīgarbha (*Sāhitya-Parīṣat-Patrikā*, 1354 B.E., pp. 3-8). A commentary on the *Gīta-govinda* seems now to be the earliest work of Rāyamukūṭa: a badly written copy, complete in 35 foll. was examined by us in the Asiatic Society, where it was sent for inspection some time ago. There is no *maṅgala* in the beginning nor any colophon at the end. At the end of the different chapters (except chap. 1 & 6) the colophon runs:—इति श्रीबृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां etc. (the word 'Śrī' is omitted in chap. 5). The last two chapters form a different commentary altogether (named शर्वाङ्गशुन्दरी at the end of chap. 11) which is more diffuse. Bṛhaspati's commentary is concise and references to authorities are rare. Besides the lexicons Rudra, Ratnamālā, Dharaṇi and Bhaṭṭamalla we came

1 We published our discovery in 1941 that the *Amarakoṣatīkā* of Rāyamukūṭa was completed in 1395 Śaka (*IHQ.*, XVII, pp. 467-68). Dr. R. C. Hazra, after full ten years, stated in 1951 that it was 'written (or rather begun) in 1431-32 A.D.' (*Annals, BORI.*, XXXII, p. 43 fn. 3). He has not thus taken notice of an important discovery. But, what is most amazing, in the next foot-note below (referring to *IHQ.*, XVII, pp. 442-71) he joins our separate paper (pp. 456-71) to his own (pp. 442-55) without disclosing our name.

across a rare quotation from a musical work named *Śaṅgītaśāstradhara* (fol. 5a:—श्रीतमन्दसुगन्धिश्च त्रिविधं वायुलक्षणं । एतल्लक्षणसंयुक्तः कोमल (:) स्यात् समीरण ॥ इति सङ्गीतविद्याधरः). It should be carefully noted that only the academic title (Mīśra) of the author is mentioned in the several colophons and it can, therefore, be surmised that this unimportant commentary was composed before the author came in contact with Rājyadhara, who gave him the honorary titles Ācārya and Kavicakra-vartī.

A very old palmleaf copy of Rāyamukūṭa's *Māgha-ṭīkā* (foll. 6-212 going up to a portion of *Sarga* 12) has been procured by the Asiatic Society. The colophon at the end of *Sarga* 1 of this Ms. states (fol. 29b):—इति महीन्तापनीय-कविचक्रवर्तिराज्यधर-मिश्राचार्य्य-श्रीमद्बृहस्पतिकृते शिशुपालविवेचने निर्णयवृहस्पतिनाम्नि नारदागमाख्यः प्रथमः सर्गः । There are slight variations in the subsequent colophons (e.g. महीन्तापनीयाचार्य्यकविचक्रवर्ति 128b, कविमण्डितमिश्र- 149b and कविचक्रवर्त्याचार्य्यमिश्र-170a) and the date of the copy is given on fol. 179a: शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १४१२ । The name of the owner is recorded on 188b श्रीसनातनमिश्रस्य । The important name of Rājyadhara, the author's patron, occurs only once. The commentary is replete with quotations from various authorities, notably a large number of lexicons (e.g. हेममाली, रूपरत्न, विन्ध्यवासी 92b and शिलोञ्छ 145b as rare names). We need only refer here to a few important names. Among previous commentators (पूर्वटीकाकृतां 6b) three names are cited by him—Vallabha (very often), Daṇḍapāṇi (39b, 47a, 58a, 70-1b &c.) and Gaṅgādāsa (43b, 58a, 59b, 106b). There is a long quotation from *Raṅgaracanā* by Puruṣottamadeva (31-2), quite an unknown work. Among works on erotics, beside *Rasaprakāśa* (164a) and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (183a) there are scores of quotations from *Rasapradīpa* (138a onwards). We suspect that this latter work was composed by his own son, for in one place (166a) it is referred to as सत्पुत्रस्य रसप्रदीपे, where सत्पुत्रस्य is evidently the obviously careless scribe's slip for सत्पुत्रस्य. This explains the author's predilection for the work, which is otherwise quite unknown. This new fact will have an important bearing on the present controversy.

The *Gītagovindaṭīkā* mentions only the academic title of the author and also probably the *Kumārāṭīkā*. The four works *Megha-dūtaṭīkā*, *Raghuṭīkā*, *Māghaṭīkā* and the *Smṛtiratnabhāra* exhibit only the two honorary titles Ācārya and Kavicakra-vartī in addition and

these are precisely the books which mention the name Rājyadhara. There are now plenty of copies of the *Amarakoṣaṭīkā* preserved in various libraries and in every full colophon of the book five more titles are mentioned exactly in the same order viz. Rājapaṇḍita, Paṇḍitasārvabhauma, Paṇḍita-cūdāmaṇi, Mahācārya and Rāyamukūṭa. These five titles are never mentioned in the previous works² and, what is much more important, the title Rājyadharācārya found in the previous works is entirely discarded in the *Koṣaṭīkā*. This normally means that the author came to the Royal court after his connection with Rājyadhara ceased most probably by the latter's death. For, in verse 5 of the *Koṣaṭīkā* the two earliest titles earned by the author are mentioned first of all but without the name of the patron Rājyadhara (धत्ते यः कविचक्रवर्तिपदमप्याचार्यवर्यश्च यः). He now enters into the second and the most glorious period of his life, which culminated in the 'golden' investiture with the title Rāyamukūṭa, which like *Rāya*-Rājyadhara and *Viśvāsa*-*Rāya* undoubtedly denotes a ministerial office of the highest grade. During this period, which must have extended over two or three decades, his son also found his way from a youthful writer on erotics to the highest dignitary of the state (यत्पुत्रा नृपमन्त्रिमौलिमणयो विश्वासरायादयः). No literary work of Rāyamukūṭa has come down to us of this period. He seems to have devoted what little time he then got to a preparation of the greatest work of his life viz. the *Koṣaṭīkā*, which was finished in the last period of retirement. The exact date of its completion is recorded in three splendid verses, discovered by us in a Ms. viz. 1396 Śaka or 1474 A.D. The verses have been fully cited by Mr. Dani (*op. cit.* pp. 216-17) with the observation that they 'occur after the actual colophon' and imply 'a desire for protection probably of the manuscript rather than that of the actual work' etc. There is absolutely no such probability; no copyist in his senses would pray, 'May the *Ṭīkā* (meaning according to Mr. Dani the copy and not the book) well-composed after full judgment shine forth till the end of the world !' (तावच्चारुविचारणाभिरचिता टीका चकास्तूच्चैः last line). All the

² Dr. Hazra wrongly stated (*IHQ.*, XVII, p. 455) that the author is called 'Paṇḍita-cūdāmaṇi' in the final colophon of the Ms. of his *Smṛti-ratnabhāra*. He has not corrected the error even now (*ib.*, XXVI, p. 290 fn. 54). The Ms. is incomplete and contains no colophon.

epithets in the verses without exception clearly point to the book itself and not to any early copy, where even the copyist's name is not recorded. The author wrote the book for 'fame' (कीर्तये in verse 8 of the introduction) and it is but natural that after completion a full-hearted prayer is made by the ambitious author for perpetuation of the book. Manuscripts, on the other hand, are written mostly for one's own use (स्वार्थं, स्वकीयं), for another's use (अमुकस्य पुस्तकं) and rarely for everybody's use (स्वार्थं परार्थञ्च). It is simply impossible to imagine that a copyist, without giving out his name, would commend his handiwork for perpetuation by scholars for all time to come, while his original is possibly fading away before his very eyes in less than 45 years' time. The verses under discussion ending with the phrase समाप्ता चेयममरकोषपञ्जिकेति certainly form part of the final colophon, which is variously written by different authors. There are many instances where the date of composition is given in verses after the pre-colophon. Three cases, just occurring to us, are cited here. *Yogasamgraha*, a medical work ends: —इति...श्रीजगन्नाथकृतः योगसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

वहिसिन्धुरसचन्द्रमंजुके साधने धवलपद्मभंयुते ।

भानुवारहरिवासरे तिथौ ग्रन्थ एष परिपूर्णतां गतः ॥

This is a record of the date of composition (not of the copy in *modern* writing) in 1673 V.S. which exactly and correctly corresponds to April 6, 1617 A.D. being a Sunday and Śukla-Ekādaśī falling in the month of Vaiśākha. (*IO.*, I, p. 945). (2) Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra's *Tirthasāra* ends: समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः । (भू)मिवाणतर्कचन्द्रशाकराजवत्सरे इत्यादि (*Des. Cat.* R.A.S.B., Vol. III, Smṛti, p. 193—read Bhūmi for Rāma). Here also the date of composition is recorded as 1651 Śaka, for the corresponding date 4830 in the Kali era is mentioned in the body of the book (fol. 114a). (3) A lexicon *Rūpacintāmaṇi*, preserved in the Dacca University (Ms. No. 1451) was examined by us in 1940. It ends (fol. 57a): —इति रूपचिन्तामणिकोषः समाप्तः ॥

शाके पञ्चैकवाणेन्दुगणिते मासि माधवे ।

एष कोषः समाप्तोभूद्दशभिः परिवत्सरैः ॥

It goes without saying that a copy of 57 foll. does not take 10 years to finish. It may be argued, why this newly discovered date of composition of the *Koṣaṭīkā* of Rāyamukuta is not found in any other copy. The answer is, 'students who read the *Amarakoṣa* with commentaries never care for such dates recorded at the end and these

are as a rule dropped by copyists. We give one more instance. Gopāla Nyāyapañcānana was the author of many Smṛti works (ending with 'nirṇaya') which at one time were very popular in Bengal and their copies are found in large numbers in Mss. libraries. The exact date of composition of only one of them *Asaucanirṇaya* was discovered in one single copy (L. 3188: शाके शरैर्वैद्विशरेन्दुमाने i.e. 1535 Śaka, a copy of 1614 Ś.) and no second copy has yet come forward to confirm it. Such rare discoveries are always hailed by genuine scholars in the field of Sanskrit Mss. In the present case the new date 1396 Ś. (1474 A.D.) for Rāyamukūṭa removes many difficulties and fits in exactly in the literary history of the period as we shall presently find.

For argument's sake let us bear with Mr. Dani and admit for a moment that an extremely abnormal copyist did record in that strange manner the date of the copy itself and not of the book. Rāyamukūṭa in that case composed the *Koṣaṭīkā* in 1431-2 A.D. in the life time of Jalāl-ud-Din. One of his earliest works *Kumāraṭīkā* was also composed during the latter's reign, say, in 1415 A.D. at the earliest, for the epithet गौड़ाधिपादुपचितप्रचुरप्रतिष्ठः refers, according to Mr. Dani, to the same monarch. We have to assume that in course of the intervening 15 years the following events occurred : (i) Jalāl-ud-Din got the name 'Rāya-Rājyadhara' and gave two titles (Ācārya and Kavacakravartī) to our author; four works were written by the latter under Rājyadhara. (ii) The author was simultaneously appointed to a high military commandership when those works were written. (iii) After this military *cum* literary career our author got four literary titles and finally the highest title Rāyamukūṭa. (iv) During the same period his sons also became poets, scholars, authors and finally chief ministers of the same blessed monarch. It is simply inconceivable that this crowd of events of two whole generations could occur just within 15 years and, what is strange enough, Mr. Dani seems inclined to curtail the period still further, when he supposes that the Smṛti work was composed 'before 1430 A.D.' and the *Koṣaṭīkā* 'near about 1431 A.D.' (*op. cit.* p. 216).

Mr. Dani finds it 'very easy' (p. 224) to interpret the mutilated verses 3-6 of the Smṛti work, though he has fully cited our views on the point (pp. 222-23) without, however, meeting our arguments. For Mr. Dani and his silent protagonist Dr. Hazra we are making

here a desperate attempt to rewrite the crucial verse 4 after filling up the lacuna according to their interpretation.

सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्यशङ्ख-च्छत्रावलीललितकाञ्चनरूप्ययुक्तम् ।

(मिश्राय यः शुभम्) दाद् बहुभूषणश्च जल्लालदीननृपतिर्मुदितो गुणौघैः ॥

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit will see that the verse constituting an 'adjective clause' to the main sentence जीयाद्यं स is *absolutely incorrect* in grammar—the relative pronoun 'yah' replacing the previously mentioned noun Jagadattasuta = Rāya-Rājyadhara can never construe with a new noun in apposition that follows abruptly in the same clause viz. Jallālādīna. Moreover, all the verses (3-6) extol the patron of the author except this verse 4, which extols a hitherto unknown commander supposed to be identical with the author and what is much more wonderful, the same commander metamorphoses himself in the very next sentence into a happy recipient of two modest professorial titles ! We have only to rub our eyes ! We have carefully examined the *Smṛtiratnabāra* again. The scribe writes a very clear and beautiful hand. In the first seven lines where the verses occur there are only two slips—one letter after the word कृष्णाजि and two letters after the word मूर्द्धाभि are omitted. All the other letters and strokes in the folio cannot be mistaken. The name Jagadatta is clearly written in both the places. Its correction to 'Gajadanta', suggested by Dr. Hazra, is quite 'fantastic'. A proper name cannot be replaced by a synonym. It would be a height of folly if we refer to our present author by the name Vācaspati, which is synonymous with Bṛhaspati. In the lacuna of verse 4 the lower portion of the last two letters of the second foot is just traceable and after that the full sign at the end. The scribe does not distinguish between 'na' and 'n' (हसन्त). Accordingly we now fill up the lacuna of the verse in a better way as follows :—

सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्यशङ्ख-च्छत्रावलीललितकाञ्चनरूप्य (मृष्टम्) ।

(यस्मावदाज्जनप-) दान् बहुभूषणश्च जल्लालदीननृपतिर्मुदितोगुणौघैः ॥

This is the only way, as we stated 12 years ago, that the verse can be correctly taken and it makes the identity of the monarch with Rāya-Rājyadhara quite impossible. The latter title is on the face of it too petty for a paramount monarch, an argument which Mr. Dani has not met. We need hardly refer to the other arguments of Mr. Dani,

which fall through automatically with no ground to stand upon. A few notes are added below to clear some of his misconceptions.

(i) Śūlapāṇi who came after Mādhavācārya and cited Vācaspati II in the *Rāsayātrāviveka* was born about 1375-80 A. D. and his literary activity began about 1405-10 A. D. and continued till about 1455-60 A. D.³ His *Śrāddhaviveka* was written after *Tiṭhiviveka* etc. Rāyamukūṭa cited 33 times from the book i. e. it had already become a standard work of great authority. This cannot happen before 1430 A. D., the earliest date for the Smṛti work of Rāyamukūṭa. Mr. Dani still relies on a date of Dhīrasimha for the chronology of the period (p. 215-16). In a recent work (Dr. J. Mishra's *Hist. of Maithila Lit.*, App. II, p. 465-6) the reign of Bhairavasimha is given as 1475-89 A. D.

(ii) For interpretation of the word इदानीम् in certain commentaries we refer Mr. Dani to our note in *IHQ.*, (XVII, pp. 468-9) and in the Introd. to our edition of *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* etc. (pp. 34-36). Nayanānanda never stated that he borrowed the date (1353 Śaka) from Rāyamukūṭa. We are unable to unravel the jugglery of Mr. Dani (p. 218) that Sarvānanda gives a 'different' date (4260 K. E.) from the date (4260 K. E.) cited from Śrīnivāsa ! We are thankful to him for citing a long-forgotten passage of our friend and pupil the late lamented Mr. S. C. Banerji (pp. 218-19). The word भूतानि alone without the word इदानीं indicates that 'a few days or a few months' have elapsed since the completion of that Kali year already when Śrīnivāsa wrote. When Sarvānanda mentioned the same date with the word इदानीम् that can have no other meaning than what we have stated.

(iii) There is nothing in the phrase गौडाधिपादुपचितप्रचुरप्रतिष्ठः to prove that the author was patronised 'only' (p. 220) by the Gauda king. The word उपचित means 'increased'. Scholars are patronised by all lovers of learning from the highest king to the rich common people, whoever among them arranges for learned assemblies.

(iv) The phrase निजभुजद्रविणाज्जितश्री is quite conventional and may very well refer to a commander as to a paramount king.

3. For Vācaspati vide our paper in *Gaṅgānātha Jbā R. I. Jour.* IV, pp. 295-312 and *Vaṅge Navyanyāyacarcā*, pp. 27-29. For date of Śūlapāṇi, *ib.* p. 97.

(v) Our author received rich presents from a monarch on the occasion of his earning the great title Rāyamukūṭa. It is quite wrong to suggest, as Mr. Dani has done (p. 223), that very much richer presents to a military commander on a former occasion must have been made by the same monarch to the same person viz. our author !

(vi) When in the same sentence our author adds the honorific word 'Śrī' to Rāya-Rājyadhara, but denies that term to the paramount monarch Jallālādīna, it is quite natural to interpret that the latter was dead when the book was written.

Our own scheme of Rāyamukūṭa's life is suggested here. He was born about 1400 A. D. and began his literary activity about 1425 A. D. All the available literary works of him with the single exception of *Koṣaṭikā* were written within the period 1425-55 A. D. mostly under the patronage of Rāya-Rājyadhara, a rich nobleman belonging to a family of mixed caste called मूर्द्धाभिषिक्त. Towards the end of this period his son (Viśvāsa Rāya) grew up as a poet, scholar and author—one book of this son the *Rasapradīpa* is cited in the *Māghaṭikā*, evidently as a sort of advertisement. Roughly from 1455 to 1474 A. D. both the father and the son embraced political careers in the royal court of successive kings and finally the *Amaraṭikā* was finished in 1474 A. D. when one of the greatest patrons of learning was on the throne of Gauḍa viz. Barbak Shah (1459-76 A. D.). It is quite possible that at the very beginning of his career our author might have enjoyed the patronage of Jalāl-ud-Dīn through his immediate patron Rājyadhara.

DINESH CH. BHATTACHARYYA

The Harṣa and Bhāṭika Eras

In an interesting article published in this Quarterly (Vol. XXVII, pp. 183 f.) Dr. R. C. Majumdar has called into question the attribution of several dates to the Harṣa era of A. D. 606-7. Whatever one may say about his objections in respect of dates from Bihar and Orissa, those about dates from Rajputana, Panjab and Central India appear to be well founded and are supported by some fresh evidence which I propose to set forth in this article.

One of the important means for checking the ascription of any date to a particular era is the verification of its data. This is unfortunately lacking in the case of the dates ascribed to the Harṣa era; for very few of them admit of verification for want of such details as a week-day, a *nakṣatra* or a *saṅkrānti*. The only dates that can be verified are the following:—

(1) The Hund inscription¹:—This contains two dates which have been read by D. R. Sahni as follows: (i) *Samvat* 168 *Āśvayujavat* 8 *Śanaub*, i.e., Saturday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina in the year 168; and (ii) *Samvat* 169 *Āṣāḍhaśuti* 12 *Vṛhau*, i.e., Thursday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the year 169.

These dates contain sufficient details for verification, but they have not been calculated by the editor. They appear quite regular according to the epoch of A. D. 606-7; for the first corresponds, for *pūrṇimanta* Āśvina, to Saturday, the 3rd September A. D. 774, and the second, to Thursday, the 15th June A. D. 775². Sahni's reading of the dates, however, appears to be incorrect.³ As Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has already pointed out in a note, the correct readings of the years in the two dates appear to be 158 and 159 respectively. The *tithi* of the second date also appears to have been read wrongly. It is clearly 13, not 12. Now, with these readings, the first date, for *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina, falls on Friday, the 24th August A. D. 764

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 97 f.

2 For the verification of dates I have used S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

3 The second figure in both the dates is exactly like that in the year and the *tithi* in the Balera plate of Mūlarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pl. facing p. 78) and the latter is undoubtedly 5.

and, for *amānta* Āśvina, on Sunday, the 23rd September A. D. 764. In either case it would be irregular, as the week-day is not Saturday as mentioned in the record. The second date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 6th June A. D. 765.

(2) The Panjaur inscription :—This contains the date, *Samvat* 563⁴, *Jeṭha śūdi* 9, *vāra Śukrah*. This regularly corresponds, for the current year 563, to Friday, the 17th May A. D. 1168, as shown by Dr. Kielhorn.

The foregoing examination of the two dates which contain details necessary for verification shows that the epoch of the Harṣa era is applicable in two out of three cases. There are, however, no clear indications of the extension of Harṣa's rule to Rajputana. On the other hand, there is evidence of the use of another era called the Bhāṭika Saṁvat which originated about the same time as the Harṣa era. In this connection Dr. Majumdar has drawn attention to the following two records, found in Jaisalmer, which mention this Saṁvat along with the Vikrama year (in one case also with the Śaka year): —

(1) Jaisalmer Vaiṣṇava temple inscription⁵:—Vikrama Saṁvat 1494—Bhāṭika Saṁvat 813, Māgha śūdi 6, Śukravāra, Āśvinī nakṣatra. This regularly corresponds to Friday, the 31st January A. D. 1438, when the *tithi* Māgha śūdi 6 ended 15 h. 50 m. and the *nakṣatra* Āśvinī, 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

This shows that the epoch of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat is A. D. 624-25.

(2) Jaisalmer Śaiva temple inscription⁶:—Vikrama Saṁvat 1673 Śaka Saṁvat 1538—Bhāṭika Saṁvat 993, with the Uttarāyaṇa occurring in Mārgaśīrṣa. This date also is perfectly regular; for in A. D. 1616, corresponding to V. S. 1673, the Uttarāyaṇa occurred on the *amāvasyā* of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa, the corresponding Christian date being the 28th December A. D. 1616.

This gives the epoch of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat as A. D. 623-24. There is thus a difference of one year between the two epochs. The

4 The facsimile in Cunningham's *ASIR.*, vol. XIV shows the year to be 562.

5 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 775. I adopt S. R. Bhandarkar's reading of the year as 813. D. R. Bhandarkar gives the year as 812 which is difficult to reconcile with the epoch indicated by the other date of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat.

6 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 962.

Facsimile of lines 4 and 5 of the Dhulev plates of *Mabārāja* Bhatti.



The date राज्यप्रतिमत्ता (पत्ति) वर्षैः(षे) तृ(वि)मृत्तमिः(तमे) आश्वयुजसंव्(व)त्सरेः(रे) occurs in line 5.

discrepancy can be reconciled by supposing that the latter date is recorded in a current year and the former in an expired year⁷.

The name of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat occurs in very late records of the fifteenth and seventeenth century A.D. It may, therefore, be asked, 'Have we any evidence that the era was current in earlier periods?' To answer such a question, let us see if this epoch of the era is applicable in the case of the two dates of the aforementioned Hund inscription.

Both the dates of the Hund inscription (with the corrected readings given above) appear quite regular if referred to the Bhāṭika Saṁvat of A.D. 623-24; for the first date, (*pūrṇimānta*) Āśvina vadi 8 in the current year 158, fell on Saturday, the 15th September A. D. 781 and the second, Āṣāḍha śudi 13 in the current year 159, fell on Thursday, the 27th June A. D. 782, the *tithi commencing* 45 minutes after mean sunrise on that day.

It will thus be noticed that whereas according to the Harṣa era of A. D. 606-7, one of the two dates in the Hund inscription appears irregular, both appear quite regular according to the epoch A. D. 623-24 of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat. The latter is, therefore, more likely to be the era used in that inscription⁸.

We have, however, no information about the circumstances which led to the foundation of this era. Dr. Majumdar suggests that the Bhāṭika era may have been identical with the Hijra era of A. D. 622, which, from a statement of Alberuni, appears to have been current in the neighbouring province of Sindh. This is extremely unlikely. The Hijra era may have been current in the Muslim province of Sindh, but it is not likely to have been in vogue in the Rajputana and the Panjab which were not under Muslim domination in the eighth century A. D. We must, therefore, seek elsewhere the origin of the Bhāṭika Saṁvat.

In this connection I invite the attention of scholars to a copper-plate grant found at Dhulev-Ṛṣabhadeva in Mewad, Rajaputana. This record has long been known. It was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1932-33*, p. 2. It has

7 For similar cases see the epochs of other eras for current and expired years.

8 The date of the Panjaur inscription may, however, be in the Harṣa era. It does not appear regular according to the epoch of the Bhāṭika era fixed above.

not, however, received the attention it deserves as some details of its date were not mentioned in the notice. My attention was drawn to this record by Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent of Archaeology, Udaipur. The grant is incised on a single copper-plate. The plate was issued by *Mahārāja* Bhatti of Kiṣkindhā and records his gift of some land in the *agrahāra* village of Ūbbaraka to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga of the Candrātreyā *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā śākhā for the religious merit of his father *Mahārāja* Bappadatti. The *Dūtaka* was Yajñadeva and the scribe, Sāmbabhaṭa. The grant is signed by *Mahārāja* Bhatti and also by one Bhaṭṭivaḍa. After this another *Dūtaka* named Karkabhaṭa who was an officer of *Sāmanta* Bhartrvaḍḍa at Trambatāli is mentioned. Finally, the consent of *Sāmanta* Bhartripadra is recorded.

The grant is written in nail-headed characters of about the 8th century A.D. and is throughout in Sanskrit. The date is given in the following words:—राज्यप्रतिमत्ता(पत्ति)वर्षैः(षे) तृ(त्रि)सप्ततिभिः(तमे) आश्वयुज-संव्व(व)त्सरेः(रे) । i.e., in the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara, in the seventy-third year since the acquisition of the kingdom.

The seventy-third year is evidently of some era; for a reign of such length is improbable, though not altogether impossible. The wording also shows that the era dated from the foundation of the kingdom by some ancestor of Bhatti. We have no information about his name. If he bore a name similar to the grantor of this plate, the era may have been current under the name of Bhattika, Bhaṭṭika or Bhāṭika. This is, of course, a conjecture, the corroboration of which will have to be left for future discoveries. One thing is certain, *viz.*, that the era could not have been identical with the Hijra era, nor with the Harṣa or any other era founded by a king of another dynasty.

The mention of the Āśvayuja saṁvatsara in connection with the year 73 is also noteworthy as it gives us some datum for calculation. This is evidently a year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. In the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* where this grant was first noticed, its year 73 was referred to the Harṣa era. The year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle in A.D. 679, corresponding to the 73rd year of the Harṣa era, was Jyeṣṭha, not Āśvayuja as required.⁹ So the

9 See Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*.

date is not of the Harṣa era. If it was recorded in the Bhāṭika era as suggested above, the Āśvayuja saṁvatsara must have been current in the neighbourhood of $623 + 73 = \text{A.D. } 696$. And it is noteworthy that the year Mahā-Āśvayuja was actually current in A.D. 695 according to the mean-sign system. There is still a difference of one year to be accounted for; but it may be due to some confusion regarding current and expired years such as is noticed in the dates of the Kalacuri-Cedi era¹⁰.

It seems probable, therefore, that the Dhulev copper-plate grant is dated in the Bhāṭika era. Other early inscriptions found in Rajputana and the adjoining country such as the Kot inscription dated in the year 40, Tasa-i-inscription (Alwar State) dated in the year 182 and Udaipur Museum inscription dated in the year 207, which are usually referred to the Harṣa era,¹¹ may also be of the Bhāṭika era. The Hund inscription also is in the same era, as shown above. As an era generally spreads with the extension of political power, it may not be wrong to infer that there was a great kingdom flourishing in Rajputana and the adjoining territory in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. which was founded by an ancestor of *Mahārāja* Bhatti in circa A.D. 623.

V. V. MIRASHI

¹⁰ See my article on the Kalacuri-Cedi era in *ABORI.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 1 ff.

¹¹ Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1391, 1405 and *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1919-20*, p. 2. See also Ojha, *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), vol. I, p. 161.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XXXIII, 1952

DANIEL H. H. INGALLS.—*The Study of Śaṅkarācārya*. Śaṅkara's contribution to the Vedāntic sphere of thoughts is discussed in the paper from the historical standpoint. Śaṅkara follows tradition, but he 'fits the tradition to his purpose,' giving us 'new insights of his own'. Both Śaṅkara and his opponent Bhāskara built upon an old framework furnished by their predecessor, the Vṛttikāra, but Śaṅkara broke away from his original on crucial points. It is surmised that he was first brought up in the ideas of the Bheda-bheda doctrine, but later, under the influence of the phenomenalistic tenets represented by the *Gauḍapāḍakārikās*. Śaṅkara's originality lies in his contribution towards a philosophical and dialectical development of the concept of the qualitless Brahman and in his synthetic presentation of the various theories current in the contemporary systems of thought. The new elements introduced in Śaṅkara's philosophy are directed not so much against Buddhism as against the schools adhering to the ritualistic Mīmāṃsā and the realistic Vedānta.

P. L. VAIDYA.—*On the Use of Prakrit Dialects in Sanskrit Dramas*. The principal Prakrit dialect used in Sanskrit dramas is Śaurasenī. Some works on dramaturgy give directions for the use of particular dialects by particular characters in a drama. The relevant passages found in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and some other works bearing on the subject have been discussed here to determine how far the directions have been followed in the Prakrit-laden *Mṛcchakaṭīka*.

R. D. KARMAKAR.—*The Pāriplava (Revolving Cycle of Legends) at the Aśvamedha*. The procedure of the Aśvamedha sacrifice suggests that in early times it had the character of a national festival in which people from all parts of the country and groups from all strata of the society gathered to take part. The Pāriplava recitation held in a series of ten discourses was an interesting rite in the Aśvamedha. The proceedings were repeated again and again for a full year till the return of the horse

roaming freely. The Hotṛ priest mentioned names of different Vedas or branches of learning, recited passages from them and referred to different tribes and their chiefs. The rite seems to have had a social and cultural appeal to the society as a whole.

S. B. JOSHI.—*Etymology of Place-names Paṭṭi-Haṭṭi*. Some observations on the history of Mahārāṣṭra and Kārṇāṭaka.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.—*Studies in the Inscriptions of Aśoka*: Queen's Edict (Allahabad-Kosani Pillar) reconsidered.

K. M. SHEMAVNEKAR.—*The Population of Ancient India (500 B.C. to 100 A.D.)*. References to provinces and towns, classes and communities and kingdoms and confederacies found in the early grammatical treatises, the works on Smṛti, and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya give an idea of the degree of expansion of population of ancient India. The grand total of the caste people at the time is estimated at about 100 to 120 millions, while the number of the dwellers of the jungles is conjectured to have been between 15 to 20 millions.

RONALD M. SMITH.—*Birth of Thought*—I. This instalment of the discourse deals with the evidence of the *Taittirīya* and the *Aitareya Upaniṣads* in respect of the development of abstract ideas with special reference to the emergence of morality, the connection of the doctrine of Karma with transmigration, and the rise of pessimism.

S. K. DIKSHIT.—*The Problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the Origin of the Vikrama Saṃvat*. In this discussion, which is to be continued, an attempt has been made to settle the chronology of the Kuṣāṇa emperors. Kujala (c. 55 B.C.), son of Kadphises is said to have started the Kuṣāṇa Era known later as Mālava-gaṇa Saṃvat, Vikrama Saṃvat etc.

P. K. GODE:—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—History of Fenugreek and Alfalfa (Lucerne) in India and other Countries (between c. B. C. 700 and A.D. 1800)*.

V. B. MISRA.—*The Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Gurjaratrā*. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty ruling over a part of the present Rajasthan for about 300 years was founded by Haricandra in about 550 A.C. It is inferred that the early rulers of the dynasty were sovereigns,

while the later ones had to acknowledge overlordship of Vatsarāja and his successors.

B. R. SHARMA.—*Symbolism of Fire-altar in the Vedas*. The idea about the universe finds expression in the construction of the sacrificial fire-altar.

P. V. BAPAT.—*A Pali Manuscript in an Indian Script*. The Pāli manuscripts are found generally in Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese or Cambodian characters. The Durbar Library in Nepal possesses fragments of a Vinaya text in Pāli written in Indian characters of the 8th-9th centuries of the Christian era.

H. GOETZ.—*Rana Kumbha's Statue at Achalgarh, Mt. Abu*.

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Date of the Vaidyabṛdayānanda by Yogī Prabarāja*. The composition of the *Vaidyabṛdayānanda*, a work on medicine, is assigned to the latter half of the seventeenth century.

—.—*Genealogy of the Viṣṇukundins*.

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*Land of the Vedas*. The *Sukla Yajurvede*, *Atharvaveda*, and the bulk of the *Rgveda* are considered to have been composed in Bihar.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XXXVIII, pts. 3-4

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA.—*A Study of Weights and Measures as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*.

KALI KINKAR DATTA.—*Genesis of the Diwani Grant of 1765*. Shah Alam II, the weak Mughal Emperor of Delhi granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company through sheer helplessness.

BANKEY BIHARI MISHRA.—*The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782*. Reforms introduced in civil justice and the administration of criminal justice and police are the subjects discussed.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Original Home of Imperial Guptas*. It is contended that the French version of I-tsing's account of the travels of Hwuilun does not support the location of the 'China Temple' built by Śrī Gupta to the west of Nālanda, and the assumption "that the original estate of the Guptas had its centre at Ayodhya or even at Mathura" has no basis. The writer of the Note is inclined to place the 'China Temple' in North Bengal.

B. P. SINHA.—*Original Home of the Imperial Guptas*. This is a Rejoinder in reply to the Note summarised above. The correctness of the French version of I-tsing's Memoir is doubted.

RAM SHARAN SHARMA.—*Vidatha: The Earliest Folk-Assembly of the Indo-Aryans*. *Vidatha* occurring frequently in the *R̥gveda* was an ancient collective institution "attended both by males and females and performing all kinds of functions, economic, military, religious and social."

VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA.—*Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. 27 (Supplement)

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Chronological Order of Punchmarked Coins—III: The Paila Hoard*.

G. C. JHALA.—*Cārudatta and Mr̥cchakaṭika*. The two dramas *Cārudatta* and *Mr̥cchakaṭika* attributed respectively to Bhāsa and Sūdraka have a close correspondence between them suggesting that the former is an abridged version of the latter. The expression *amudaṅka nāḍaam* (=a-mṛd-aṅka-nāṭaka) employed in the last Act of the *Cārudatta* hints further at its relationship with the *mṛt śakaṭikā* (little clay cart) of Sūdraka's drama.

B. G. GOKHALE.—*The Origin of the Imperial Guptas*. Arguments are put forward to show that the Guptas belonged originally to a non-Brāhmanical clan 'which was racially and socially similar to' the clan of the Licchavis.

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR.—*Decorative Style and Alamkāras in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. IX, pt. 1

B. C. LAW.—*Vidiśā in Ancient India*. References to the city of Vidiśā in Sanskrit and Pali literature, and the association of the place with some coins and inscriptions point to its religious and political significance in ancient times. Vidiśā is situated in Bhopal.

JNANENDRA LAL MAJUMDAR.—*Philosophy of Gaṇḍapāda (Alātāśānti-prakaraṇa)*. This is the concluding instalment of the paper

interpreting the *Alātaśānti* section of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* in accordance with the concepts of Buddhist philosophy.

DASARATHA SHARMA.—*The Kauṭalyan Ruler*. The king is depicted in the *Arthaśāstra* as the chief executive and the controlling authority in every sphere of his kingdom, with a high conception of his duties and ready responsiveness to the needs of his subjects.

KAILASH CHANDRA OJHA.—*Original Home and family of the Mauryas*. The writer is inclined to believe that Candragupta Maurya was an inhabitant of North Western India 'probably born in the Kuru family'.

SADASIVA L. KATRE.—*Sujānadbharmaratna*. The *Sujānadbharmaratna* is a *Smṛti* digest composed in the 17th century under the patronage of the Bundela king Sujan Singh by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa *alias* Bhaiabhaṭṭa belonging to the celebrated Bhaṭṭa family of Banaras. Manuscripts of three sections of the work—*Samaya-dīdhiti*, *Āhnika-dīdhiti* and *Śrāddha-dīdhiti* are known to be available.

K. M. MUNSHI.—*Sanskrit through the Ages*. This is a discourse upon the stages of development of the Sanskrit language as a unifying force in India.

R. C. HAZRA.—*The Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*. The *Upapurāṇa* glorifying Gaṇeśa has been analysed here. It is said to have been produced in the region of Banaras at a comparatively late period.

BHAKTI SUDHA MUKHOPADHYAYA.—*Mṛcchakaṭika as a Prakaraṇa*. Almost all the features characteristic of a *Prakaraṇa* type of drama are present in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

UMESH MISHRA.—*Influence of Teachings of the Buddha and the Causes of the Decline of Buddhism*. Buddha's great personality and lofty ideals helped rapid progress of Buddhism. The unrestricted admission of the unworthy persons to the Order and the absence of recorded teachings of the Master led to the decline of the religion. The Buddhists developed an impression that they belonged to a separate order, and incurred thereby a deadly antipathy of the old society. The leading followers of the Buddha became jealous of each other and began to interpret the non-recorded words of the Teacher in various ways.

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol. XX, pts. 1-IV

T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI.—*Vedic Attitude to Sati*. Vedic texts

do not suggest the prevalence of the custom of *sahamarāṇa* or *anumarāṇa* of a widow.

Y. D. SHARMA.—*Building Laws in the Arthaśāstra*. The rules in the *Kauṭīliya* on house-building are progressive in nature, almost corresponding to the municipal building laws of the present times. The modern house-planning however aims at bringing comfort and convenience to the community, whereas the Kauṭīliyan rules try primarily to remove causes of friction among the neighbours.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.—*A Bāṇa Chieftain of the Thirteenth Century*. Rājarājamagadainādālvāṇ, a contemporary of the Cola Emperor Kulottuṅga III, was a Bāṇa king ruling over parts of South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot. He distinguished himself by helping the Colas against the Pāṇdyas.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland,
1953, Parts 1 & 2

KENNETH INGHAM.—*The English Evangelicals and the Pilgrim Tax in India, 1800-1862*. This is an account of the agitation started by the Christian Missionaries against Governments' attitude of toleration towards Hinduism. The Evangelicals opposed the collection of the Pilgrim Tax which helped maintaining connection with the administration of Hindu temples.

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD.—*Notes on the Future System in Middle Indo-Aryan*.

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Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire

Inspired with the suggestion of Dr. A. S. Altekar, who had published a hoard of Kuṣāṇa coins from Buxar in Behar and had suggested that Magadha was conquered by the Kuṣāṇas early in their dynastic history in the time of Wima Kadphises and they lost their hold over it towards the end of the reign of Huviṣka¹, Sri Adris Banerji has collected numismatic, epigraphic and sculptural data, under the above caption² to show that U.P., Behar and possibly the Gangetic delta in Bengal, as well as Orissa were included for a time within the empire of Kanishka. While the paper is interesting, a careful, balanced, unbiassed and fair study of the available materials would show that there is hardly anything to weave out any such possibilities.

Sri Banerji has referred to the following inscriptions, pointing out that they specifically mention the name of Kanishka in Eastern India :

1. Inscription on a Buddha image at Sārnath.
2. Inscription on a Buddha image found at Sahet-Mahet, (ancient Śrāvastī).
3. Inscription on an image found at Gaya by Cunningham.

To this list of Sri Banerji, I would add one more inscription found on a Buddha image at Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī³, which, he did not include in the list. But at the same time, the image which is said by Sri Banerji to have been found by Cunningham at Gaya has nothing by the way of reference to Kanishka or any other Kuṣāṇa king, and has no value in the present context. As a matter of fact Sri

¹ *JNSI.*, vol. XII, p. 122.

² *IHQ.*, vol. XVII, pp. 294-303.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 211.

Banerji, himself, is not sure if the image has any such thing. Though he has quoted Cunningham's *Mahābodhī* as the authority of his assertion, but he did not consult the book. He seems to have relied on Dr. B. C. Sen, whose name he has mentioned in the footnote⁴. I have consulted the *Mahābodhī*, but I failed to find any reference to any such image which has got any inscription mentioning the name of Kaniṣka or any other Kuṣāṇa king. There is one Buddha image with the inscription dated in the 64th year of a king named Trikamala. This image is no doubt assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period by Cunningham, but artistically it is doubtful if it could be assigned to that period. In all probability it belongs to the later part of the third century A.D. But even if it be taken as belonging to Kuṣāṇa period, it shows that there was some independent kingdom in Behar during the Kuṣāṇa period, and it was not under the domination of the Kuṣāṇas.

Having excluded this inscription from the list, we have nothing coming from Behar, which specifically mentions the name of Kaniṣka or any other Kuṣāṇa king, suggesting Kuṣāṇa hold over the territory. The other three inscriptions are confined to eastern U.P. and they do not suggest anything Kuṣāṇa beyond Banaras, if the find-spots be taken as a conclusive evidence on this point. We shall discuss these inscriptions a little later.

Sri Banerji has given next, a list of inscriptions that are found in Behar and have Kuṣāṇa characters. Script called Kuṣāṇa, on any inscription found at any place in Behar or anywhere else, does not suggest any political domination. It is just a name to indicate the developed form of the letters that are found in the period when Kuṣāṇas were the main ruler in a part of the country. Moreover, the inscriptions listed by Sri Banerji are engraved on images which are made of red sand-stone of Karri (Agra) and the style as well as the technique of these images betray their production from Mathurā studio. There is no doubt that these images were imported from Mathurā to the localities where they have been found. Therefore, it is no wonder if they have Kuṣāṇa script on them. An imported article is in no way a sure indication of political domination of the place, where it is found, under the ruler of the place of the origin of that article.

But Sri Banerji has pointed out that the Rājmahal slate was used

in sculptures in Eastern India in various periods; but not in the Kuṣāṇa period. In this period only the red sand-stone of Karri is found, which disappears with the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa empire'. 'In Gupta period', he says, 'the studios of Mathura were still working, but the red sand-stone of Mathurā remains within the limits of the Doab between the Gaṅga and the Yamunā; and never again to reappear on the soil of eastern India in the wake of other empires that followed that of the Kuṣāṇas'. Sri Banerji wants to impress upon us that inspite of the local stone, if images of stones of a particular place is imported in a particular period, it is a sure indication of the political domination. To him, the presence of Mathurā stone, inspite of Rājmahal stone in Behar, indicates the Kuṣāṇa occupation of that province.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian art during the Kuṣāṇa period developed in the Gāndhāra and Mathurā only. No local art is known flourishing at Banaras and Magadha. Had there been so, we would naturally have had some specimens of that art in the local Chunār and Rājmahal stones. But when in the Gupta period, Banaras developed its own school of art, we find sculptures of Chunār sand-stone in eastern U. P. and Behar in abundance. People, naturally, did not feel necessity anymore to import stone images from distant places like Mathurā. Even in this period, we do not have Rājmahal stones used in sculptures of Magadha, since art was not till then developed in that area. Had there been any such thing, as Sri Banerji postulates with the presence of Mathurā stones at Behar, we would surely have had Chunār stone images in abundance at Mathurā and other places, with the advent of the Gupta domination in that area. But such is not the case. So, one can naturally infer that in the Kuṣāṇa period, when the eastern India lacked an art of its own, out of love for the religion or by way of curiosity of introducing new things in their own land, people imported images from the known centre of their manufacture at Mathurā. But when they developed their own art, they ceased to import. It is well apparent by the very fact that we have a few images of Mathurā in Behar and eastern U. P. As such, it is just an imagination to suggest any political reason behind their presence in Behar. There is hardly anything by the way of art and inscriptions to show the extant of Kuṣāṇa empire in Behar.

Now, coming to the Kuṣāṇa occupation in the eastern U.P. we

have, no doubt, as pointed out above, three inscribed Buddha images, that are found at Kauśāmbī, Sārnath and Śrāvastī and bear the name of Kaniṣka. These inscriptions seem to suggest Kaniṣka's rule, extending upto Banaras, and not only Sri Banerji, but many scholars share this view. But the tragedy had been with the scholars that they have always ignored Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī inscriptions and have laid stress only on the Sārnath inscription. If the three images and their inscriptions are studied together, we shall see that they are not the least connected with the empire of Kaniṣka.

All the three images are made of Karri red sand-stone and are the products most likely of a single artist of Mathurā school. They are strikingly similiar in style and workmanship. Their inscriptions are also similar in nature, language and script. One of them (Kauśāmbī image) is dated in the 2nd year of Kaniṣka, the other (Sārnath image) is dated in the third year of his reign; on the third, (Śrāvastī image) unfortunately the date is damaged, but it is also in the year of the reign of Kaniṣka. The doner of the Śrāvastī image was friar Bala the follower of friar Puṣyavuddhi and that of Kauśāmbī, friar Bala's disciple nun Buddhāmitrā. The Sārnath image is a joint donation of the two i.e. friar Bala and nun Buddhāmitrā. These two Buddhists are again mentioned on the inscribed Bodhisattva image from Mathurā, preserved in Lucknow Museum, dated in the year 33 in the reign of Huviṣka. This image was the gift of nun Dhanavatī, the sister's daughter of Trepīṭaka Buddhāmitrā, the disciple of the Trepīṭaka Bala.⁵ It is clear from this, that the three inscriptions belonged to these two persons, who were beyond doubt on pilgrimage and were not the inhabitants of either of the three places Kauśāmbī, Sārnath and Śrāvastī and most likely they had come from Mathurā and had brought with them the images to install on the occasion of their pilgrimage at the sacred sites of Buddhism. As such they too do not have any thing which may be interpreted as an evidence of Kaniṣka's hold over these places.

But the two names Kharapallana and Vanaspara, which are mentioned in the Sārnath image inscription with the titles Mahākṣatrapa and Kṣatrapa respectively, have made the scholars imaginative and they think that they were viceroy and governor at Banaras

at that time under Kaniṣka. But this inference is never warranted from the lines of the inscriptions, which are as follows: —

(1) भिक्षुस्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो छत्रयष्टि प्रतिष्ठापितो वाराणसिये भगवतो चंकमे सहा माता पितिहि सहा उपद्रयायाचर्येहि सद्येविहारिहि अतेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमित्तये लेपिटिकये सहा क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन च सहा च चतुर्हि परिषाहि सर्व-सत्त्वनं हितासुखार्थं ।

(2) भिक्षुस्य बलस्यलेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ।

In these two inscriptions the name of the two Kṣatrapas are mentioned clearly as the associates in the donation of the statue of the Bodhisattva and the umbrella, in the same way as is mentioned the name of the nun Buddhāmitrā. There is nothing to indicate that Kharapallana and Vanaspara were stationed at Banaras in any administrative capacity. At the best it can only be inferred that they were also pilgrims like the friar Bala and nun Buddhāmitrā and in all probability they accompanied them in their journey and shared in the said donation.

But much colour has been given to the imagination by Jayaswal, who suggested that a Kṣatriya tribe was known as Banāphara in Bundelkhand and they were the descendants of this Vanaspara and a dialect is still known there as Banāpharī. Sri Banerji has quoted Sir George Grierson to suggest that they had their home originally at Buxar. But it is incorrect to say that Banāphara Rajputs are the original inhabitants of Behar. They have migrated to this area within the recent centuries from the west. We also do not have any tradition among the Banāphar Rajputs to suggest that they are the descendants of Vanaspara. The Paurāṇic tradition places Vanaspara at Padmāvati, if he is the same as Vinvasphāṇi, Vimbsphāṇi, or Visvaphāṇi, as suggested by Jayaswal.

Sri Banerji considers the reference of the Kaniṣka era in these inscriptions, as the crucial point in the matter. To him the use of the reckoning started by Kaniṣka, in an area, where he had no political interest, seems to be most amazing. So, to emphasise that Kaniṣka era would not have been used in these inscriptions, had the territory not been under him, he has cited instances showing that kings did not use their own era or reign period, when they erected monuments outside their own kingdom. Kings might or might not have used their era or reign period outside their kingdoms; it has no

bearing on the present question. It seems Sri Banerji has ignored the fact that none of the present inscriptions are the official records of the Kuṣāṇa kings. He has cited no injunction against people at large, banning the use of the dates of their own choice on their records.

However, if these territories were under the Kuṣāṇas, it is most amazing to get only these three inscriptions dated in the beginning of the Kaniṣka era; and that too, used by a single group of men, when we get hundreds of inscriptions from Mathurā and other parts of the Kuṣāṇa kingdom, dated in the reign of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and other kings and in Kuṣāṇa era. It is not that we do not have inscriptions in the Kuṣāṇa script in this area. The inscriptions of this period are well known from Kauśāmbī, Bandhogarh, Ahicchatra etc., but none of them refer to Kuṣāṇa kings. Thus it is very doubtful if ever this area was under the Kuṣāṇas.

But before any judgment is pronounced in this matter, it is necessary that the local history of Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Ayodhyā be examined critically, which is unfortunately so far ignored⁶.

The numismatic material that have come to light from Kauśāmbī in recent days shows that Vavaghoṣa and Aśvaghoṣa were ruling there towards the end of the third century B. C. They were most probably followed by Parvata and Sudeva. These kings were followed by the kings of Mitra dynasty towards the end of second century B.C. Beginning from the king Mitra, this dynasty included at least 15 kings Rādhamitra, Agnimitra, Jyeṣṭhamitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Suramitra, Varuṇamitra, Poṭhamitra, Sarpamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Satyamitra, Rājāmitra, Rajnīmitra, Devamitra, Īśvaramitra, and Śivamitra⁷. These were supplanted by the kings of Magha dynasty. Bhadramagha, Śivamagha, Bhīmavarman, Satamagha, Vijayamagha, Puramagha, Yugamagha, Nāvika, Pushvasri, Dhanadeva, are the 10 kings of this period known from their coins. The last ruler of Kauśāmbī was Rudra, who was subdued by Samudragupta and is mentioned as Rudradeva in the

6 The author has reconstructed the history of these states on the basis of all available numismatic, epigraphic and literary materials, which is incorporated in this forthcoming book entitled *After the Mauryas*. Only the names of the kings are enumerated here just to give an idea of the correct situation.

7 For the details of the coins, cf *INSI.*, vols. IV, V, VIII & XIV; *BMC.*, *AI.*, intro. p. xciv; pp. 148-158; *ASR.*, vol. X. The name of Śivamitra is mentioned in an inscription (*ASI.*, *AR.*, 1913-14, p. 262-63.)

Allahabad pillar inscription. The coins of all these kings are purely local and have no influence of the Kuṣāṇa or any other coinage, to suggest that they were feudatories to them. Thus from the end of the second century B. C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. Kauśāmbī was ruled continuously by local rulers, independent of any imperial pressure. Still we get there the Buddha image with inscription dated in the reign of Kanīṣka, which suggests nothing but the donor belonged to the territory of Kanīṣka and not that the territory was under Kanīṣka.

Now turning towards Pañcāla, we find a long series of uniform coinage with no less than twenty two kings, viz. Rūdragupta, Jayagupta, Dāmagupta, Vaṅgapāla, Viśvapāla, Yajñapāla, Vasusena, Sūryamitra, Dhruvamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Indramitra, Agnimitra, Varuṇamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Jayamitra, Phālgunimitra, Aṇumitra, Āyumitra and Bṛhaspatimitra⁸. The beginning of this kingdom is believed to be the end of the third century B.C. These twenty-two kings must have ruled for no less than five centuries i.e. upto third century A.D. or to the rise of the Guptas. Here too the coinage is purely local and has no foreign influence. There is nothing to suggest that they were the feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas. Thus it is clear that Pañcāla was also an independent kingdom during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas.

The third kingdom of Ayodhyā, which lies in between these two kingdoms had all along a very unsettled state. Some time it formed part of Pañcāla and at the other of Kauśāmbī, But at occasions it also asserted its own independence. Though it lacks the smoothness that we find in the history of Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla, still there is nothing to suggest that it ever acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas. Ayodhyā, as an independent kingdom, most probably came into existence after Puṣyamitra Śuṅga in the latter half of the second century B. C. And since then we have here the kings Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Phālgunideva, Dhanadeva, Śivadatta, Naradatta, Jyeṣṭhadatta, Satyamitra, Devamitra, Āryamitra, Saṅghamitra, Vijayamitra, Kumudasena and

8 Cf. *BMC., Al.*, intro. p. cxvi; pp. 192-204; *JNSI.*, vols. II, IV & V; *IMC.*, vol. I; *JASB.*, vol. XLIX, p. 21.

Ajavarman.⁹ The list does not seem complete. There may be a few more kings, with the interregnums of the Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla rules. But even this list of 15 names shows that they would have ruled up to the end of second century A. D., and they may even go up to third century A. D. if a proper history is constructed. The coins of these kings too are free from foreign influence and do not suggest any Kuṣāṇa domination.

Thus the reconstructed history of Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Ayodhyā shows that they were independent kingdoms, when the Kuṣāṇas were ruling at Mathurā. The Kuṣāṇas could have proceeded to Banaras and Magdha, only if any one of these was subdued, for which we have still no evidence. What we have at present suggests that Kuṣāṇa empire was extended at the most upto Kānyakubja in the east.

But Sri Banerji and Dr. Altekar put before us a long list of the finds of Kuṣāṇa coins widely scattered in Bengal, Orissa, Behar and eastern U. P. They vehemently advocate that these coins are conclusive evidence of Kuṣāṇa expansion in the east. No doubt, in view of the numismatic axiom—copper coins do not travel generally long outside the territory of their circulation—*prima facie*, there is every justification for the conclusions in the favour of the extension of the Kuṣāṇa empire to Magadha and even beyond. But at the same time we cannot undervalue the history of Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Ayodhyā, reconstructed on the basis of numismatic and other evidences.

So this material needs a critical examination, before we reach at any conclusion.

Sri Banerji has given the following list of the finds in Bengal:—

- (i) A copper coin of Kaniṣka, found in 1882 at Tamluk in Midnapur district.
- (ii) A base metal coin of Vāsudeva found in 1890 in Murshidabad district.
- (iii) A gold coin of Vāsudeva, found in 1909 in Bogra district.
- (iv) Three Kuṣāṇa coins from North Bengal. Two of them came from Mahāsthān and one of them belonged to Vāsudeva, and the other is not assigned to any particular king. The third coin hailed from Malda and belonged

9 Cf. *BMC, Al.*; intro. p. lxxxvii, pp. 129-139; *JNSI.*, vol. VIII.

to Vāsudeva. (Sri Banerji has mentioned these coins as silver pieces. But no silver coin from this area is ever known of this dynasty).

Of the four entries of the list, three refer to non-copper coinage belonging to Vāsudeva. Gold and silver coins may travel far and off from their place of origin by way of trade. So one can well suggest that they came to Bengal by that way. Moreover, there is hardly any one, who thinks that Vāsudeva had ever ruled as far as Bengal. He is not considered to have such an extensive area under him. So, on the basis of a single copper coin found at Tamluk, an ancient port of international importance, it seems idle to suggest that Bengal was under the Kuṣāṇas, for any amount of period.

Next, following is the list of finds from Orissa given by Sri Banerji: —

- (i) Copper coins of Kanīṣka and Huviṣka were found at Bhañjika in Mayurabhanj district. (This hoard was found in 1923 and included the coins of Puri-Kuṣāṇa type, in which some of them were inscribed.¹⁰)
- (ii) 112 copper coins of Great Kuṣāṇas were found at Mayurabhanj by late R. D. Banerji. (This hoard was also found probably in 1923 or 1924, but the find-spot is not recorded. This hoard also included 170 Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins¹¹.)
- (iii) Kushāṇa coins were found in the excavations of Virātgarh in Mayurabhanj district. (Sri P. Acharya informs that a few Kuṣāṇa coins were found with a large number of Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins¹².)
- (iv) Copper coins of Kanīṣka and Huviṣka were found at Śīsupālagarh. (Only one coin each of the two kings were found in the excavations, with four coins of Puri-Kuṣāṇas. These have been found in the later level which may be dated according to the excavation report to 300-350 A.D.¹³)

The information given above within brackets is added by me.

¹⁰ *ASL*, *AR*, 1924-25, p. 130.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 132.

¹³ *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.

¹² *JNSI*, vol. II, p. 124.

They show that none of the Kuṣāṇa coins known from Orissa, were found independent of the Purī-Kuṣāṇa coins. The Bhañjika hoard had some inscribed coins, with the legends in the characters of the fourth century A.D.¹⁴ It is therefore clear that the coins were not deposited earlier than that period. The excavation report of Śiśupālagarh informs that the Kaniṣka coin was found worn on the late unstratified layer and the coin of Huviṣka, which was in a fair condition was found in the upper level of the period II B i.e. dating towards the end of the second century A.D.¹⁵

It is clear from these coins that they were current in Orissa in the period, when the Kuṣāṇa empire has ceased to exist in the North India. So there arises no question of their domination over this area.

Now we come to Behar. Sri Banerji records three finds from this province.

- (i) A gold coin of Huviṣka was found in Belwadaga thana and a copper coin of Kaniṣka in the Karra thana of the Ranchi district.
- (ii) Excavations at Paṭaliputra yielded two copper coins of Kaniṣka and more of Wima-Kadphises and Huviṣka. (Dr. Altekar has recently published the list of the coins which were found in the Paṭaliputra excavations and Bulandibagh in 1912-13. He gives the number of the coins as Wima-Kadphises 3, Kaniṣka 12, and Huviṣka 30.¹⁶)
- (iii) Kuṣāṇa coins have been found at Vaiśālī in large number. To this list should be added the Buxar hoard, which Dr. Altekar has recently published and on which he has built up his theory of the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Magadha.
- (iv) Buxar hoard included copper coins; of them 23 are of Wima-Kadphises, 159 of Kaniṣka and 172 of Huviṣka, 38 undecipherable and 10 Ayodhyā coins of bull and cock series i.e. the coins of Mitra kings.¹⁷

Lastly, I would add one more find.

14 *BMC., Al.*, intro. p. cxxii. But R. D. Banerji thought that the inscribed Purī-Kuṣāṇa coins were issued possibly in the sixth century A.D. (*JBORS.*, vol. V, pp. 83-84).

15 *Op. cit.* p. 98.

16 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 144-47.

17 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 121.

- (v) Sri Ganesh Chaube of Bangari, district Champaran, sent me last year a few copper Kuṣāṇa coins, collected from his area. They included a coin of Wima-Kadphises and the rest were of Huviṣka.

Of these finds, the coins found in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī would have been valuable evidence had their stratification been properly recorded. Dr. Altekar has pointed out that square and round cast coins were found in large number in the Kumrahāra excavations. He concludes that this tends to show that the copper currency of the Kuṣāṇa succeeded in completely ousting the indigenous copper currency of cast coins. This, he says, took place in about 75 A.D.¹⁸ But in absence of the stratification, there is nothing positive to suggest such an hypothesis. I have just pointed out above that the Śiśupālagarh excavations give the date of currency of the Kuṣāṇa coins at about 200 A.D. There too, cast coins were found and they suggest that they were in currency from 50 A.D. to 350 A.D. Three of the coins, out of total nine, were found in the upper layer of Period II A attributable to c. A.D. 50-100, the same number were found in the early level of period II B, datable to 100-125 and the remaining three were obtained from later deposits which may be assigned to 200-350 A.D.¹⁹ The coin of Huviṣka, here was found in the upper level of period II B, datable to about 200 A.D. The cast coins were current in second and third century A.D. is also borne out from a hoard of coins from Kauśāmbī, which includes square cast coins with the coins of Maghas.²⁰ Same might have been the case in Magadha also; and the Kuṣāṇa coins might have followed the cast coins. However, in absence of any definite knowledge about the level of their finds, we cannot attach any importance to the finds of the excavations of Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī, for determining the period of their currency'^{20a}.

The Buxar hoard should be assessed on its own merit of being an intact one. But before doing so, I would like to enlist the hoards that are known from the eastern U.P. :

1. 105 Kuṣāṇa copper coins were found at Sahet-Mahet in the cell of a monastery in the excavations of 1908-9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁰ The hoard will be published shortly by me in *JNSI*.

^{20a}. We should await the results of Kumrahāra excavations of 1950-53 conducted by the Patna University. They may throw some light on this point.

It included 2 coins of Kaniṣka, 2 of Huviṣka, 96 of Vāsudeva and the remaining were badly effaced.²¹

2. 100 copper Kuṣāṇa coins were found in the village Bindwal in Azamgarh district in 1949-50 and the kings represented there were Kaniṣka and Huviṣka.²²
3. A hoard of Kuṣāṇa coins was found on the bank of a *nālā* in the village Nai in the district of Azamgarh about 15 years back, but it is nowhere recorded. A few coins were brought to me from a resident of that village, which suggested that the hoard included the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka and cock and bull type coins of Ayodhyā.
4. A big hoard of several hundred coins were found at Sidhāri, on the outskirts of Azamgarh town about 12 years back while a trench was being made for the foundation of a house. This hoard is also unrecorded, but a portion of it now forms part of the collection of Sri Ramashanker Rawat of Azamgarh. Most of the coins are of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. It also included a few Ayodhyā coins of cock and bull type.

Of the five hoards listed above, (three from Azamgarh district, and one each from Sahet-Mahet and Buxar) at least three have a common feature that the Kuṣāṇa coins are found mixed with the Ayodhyā coins of bull and cock type. These Ayodhyā coins are comparatively few in number in all these hoards. According to that axiom of numismatics, they show that either they were issued earlier than Kuṣāṇa coins or after them. Dr. Altekar is of opinion that the Mitra kings of Ayodhyā, who issued these coins were most probably slightly later than the time of Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva. He places them in the second century A.D., and suggests that they probably ruled as the feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas and were allowed to issue coins.²³

India knows three big empires, during the historical period of 2500 years, viz. Nanda-Maurya, Gupta and Mughal. The coinage of Nanda-Maurya (i.e. Punch-marked coins) is still an enigmatic to the numismatists; but we know much about the other two empires. We

21 *ASI, A.R.*, 1908-09, p.35.

22 *JNSI.*, vol. XII, p. 162.

23 *Ibid*, vol. XII, p. 123.

know not a single example where the emperors of these empires, had allowed their feudatories to issue their own coinage. The later Mughals, during the period of the decadance of the empire, had tolerated the minting of the coins by their feudatories, but the feudatories never dared to issue coins in their own name. Dr. Altekar himself has admitted that no Gupta feudatory was ever permitted to mint any coins.²⁴ I wonder then how Dr. Altekar thinks that the Kuṣāṇas would have permitted a feudatory family ruling at Ayodhyā to issue its own coinage. But even if we presume that they did permit the minting to their Ayodhyā feudatories, how is that we do not find any Kuṣāṇa influence over these coins? Moreover, if the Ayodhyā feudatories issued their own coins, it is natural to expect that their coins would have been more in currency than that of the Kuṣāṇas, being local currency. In our own times, we had many Indian states, under the British rule, who were issuing their own coins, within their own territory. They can well be placed to the analogy of the situation in Ayodhyā under the Kuṣāṇas. Here in Hyderabad or Gwalior, the two principal states of our times issuing their own coins, we had always found their own coins current along with the British currency; the former being more frequent than those of the British overlords. Therefore, if not more, at least in a sufficient number the Ayodhyā coins ought to have been found in these hoards as they were found in the heart of the Ayodhyā kingdom. In absence of any such evidence, the suggestion of Kuṣāṇa domination of Ayodhyā during the reigns of Mitra kings is an improbability.

However, it may be assumed that Mitra kings were formerly feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas during the height of that empire. In that period they did not issue their own coins. But on its fall when they become independent they issued their own coins. This may well account for the constitution of the hoards. But we have nothing to show that Mitra coins dated to the period after the Kuṣāṇas. They cannot in any case be placed later than second century A. D. We have nothing to reconcile with the fact that Mitra coinage supplanted the Kuṣāṇa coinage at Buxar immediately after Huviṣka and at Sahet-Mahet, their own principal town,

Vāsudeva continued to rule, the situation which appears from the hoards found at respective places. To meet this awkward situation, one may possibly suggest that Mitras rose at Behar on the ruins of the Kuṣāṇas after Huviṣka and later they occupied Ayodhyā after Vāsudeva. But for this suggestion too, we have no evidence. The study of the coinage of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, with the view of reconstruction of the local history, shows that the Mitras of Ayodhyā were the off-shoots of the Kauśāmbī dynasty, which remained confined to Ayodhyā and flourished within first two centuries of the Christian era.

So, there is nothing for the present to suggest the contemporaneity of the Mitra kings of Ayodhyā with the Kuṣāṇa kings or their posteriority to them. The numismatic evidences place them earlier than the Kuṣāṇas, i. e. the Mitra coins were followed by the Kuṣāṇa coins in the later part of second century A.D. in this area. We arrive at this very conclusion from the evidence of Śisupālagarh excavations also.

The rise of Kaniṣka is generally believed in 78 A.D. and his dynasty ruled in this country for about 100 years, after which his great empire passed away. Accordingly, by the end of second century A.D. the Kuṣāṇas did not exist in northern India. The available material discussed above suggests that no coins of the Kuṣāṇas were current within first-second century A. D. in eastern U. P., Behar and Orissa, which ultimately means that the Kuṣāṇas had no hold over these territories. The coins came into currency in this part of the country after their fall.

But it may be pointed out here that copper coins generally do not travel long outside the territory of their circulation. As such the coins seem to suggest that Kuṣāṇas might exist in these areas, in the later part of the second and third century A. D., if not in the first and second century A. D. Though inscriptional and sculptural evidences are lacking, as shown above, for the existence of the Kuṣāṇas in these areas, the Chinese and Tibetan traditions suggest the Kuṣāṇa occupation of eastern U. P. and Magadha. They record Kaniṣka's war with Sāket and Pāṭaliputra. If it was so, the generally accepted date of 78 A. D. for the rise of Kaniṣka, will have to be reviewed in the light of these evidences. There has been suggestions for Kaniṣka's reign in second century A. D. It has been pointed out by some scholars that the downfall of the Kuṣāṇa

empire was mainly due to the invasion of the Sassanians. The Sassanian king Shāpur I (241-272 A. D.) is said to have subjugated the Kuṣāṇas. According to the latest theory on the subject, his invasion, which coincides more or less with the end of the reign of Vāsudeva, is placed some time between 241 and 250 A. D.; consequently, the accession of Kaniṣka, hundred years before this, is placed about 142 A. D.²⁵ Ghirshman has suggested the accession of Kaniṣka in 144 A. D. on the basis of the material, found in his excavations at Begram.²⁶ Marshall also accepts the date of the Kuṣāṇas in the second century A. D. as revealed by his excavations at Taxila. In the light of these, the numismatic conclusions adduced above are very valuable; and the problem of the date of Kaniṣka, should be examined afresh.

But if the numismatic evidences are not conclusive on the point; and the old view of the date of 78 A. D. is adhered to, we must account for the presence of Kuṣāṇa coins in a territory which was not theirs during their regime and the circumstances of their currency in a period in which the Kuṣāṇas ceased to exist. This would be an unusual phenomenon; but it should not cause any surprise, as it can well be explained. The cause of this unusual phenomenon may be the economic need of the post-Kuṣāṇa period.

The Gupta copper coins are extremely rare, and their silver coins were confined to Western and Central India, and that too came into vogue towards the end of the fourth century A.D. in the time of Candragupta II. The use of punch-marked coins had gone out of vogue long back. Kuṣāṇas too had not issued silver coins. The gold coins of the Guptas could not have met the needs of the middle and lower class of people, who required small currencies for meeting their daily needs. We know little about the political conditions of Behar for centuries before the rise of the Guptas and of eastern U.P. after the fall of the Mitras of Ayodhyā. Therefore, it is very probable that people used the Kuṣāṇa copper coins, which was current in the neighbouring areas of Kānyakubja and Mathurā, in absence of their own coinage during the second and third centuries and even after that. In all

25 Majumdar, R. C., *Ancient India*, p. 129.

26 Begram, *Recherches archeologiques et historique sur les Koçhans.*, pp. 109-184.

probability, when the people felt shortage of their own coins, these coins might have infiltrated by way of trade and spread to Behar and Orissa, far away, outside their original area of currency. There they remained in use for a long time.

When these coins could not meet the demands, it seems, their imitations were issued at places. Among such imitations, the Purī-Kuṣāṇa coins are well known, as they have been found in abundance in Orissa and Behar. Even at Mathurā imitations were issued having Kuṣāṇa figure of the king on the obverse and parallel lines on the reverse. Recently I had an occasion to see a big lot of such coins with an antiquity dealer at Mathurā. Another type of Kuṣāṇa imitation from Kauśāmbī is published by Dr. Altekar, with the conjuncture that it was the issue of some local Kuṣāṇa governor.²⁷ That the Kuṣāṇa coins were current outside their territory and long after the extinction of their empire is borne out by the fact that not only coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniška, Huviška and Vāsudeva are found in this area, but the coins of later Kuṣāṇas of the Punjab with Ardoksho seated on the reverse are also known in this area, though they are not numerous. Recently I had an occasion to see such coins in Banaras market and obtained a few for my collection.

One may pertinently argue against this suggestion that if the Kuṣāṇa coins went by way of trade in this area, why did they not do so in Central Provinces and Bombay? Broach should have got a lot of them. Why did not Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins come in Behar by way of trade? But these questions are not difficult to answer. If we look to our own times, we shall see that Gwalior coins are current as far as Mathurā in one side and Itarsi in the other; but we do not find Hyderabad currency outside its own area. If this is so in an age when time and distance have no consideration, it would have been more so in the ill-equipped ancient days. So, it should be no wonder if Kuṣāṇa coins are not known in C.P. and Bombay or Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins in Behar.

But Kuṣāṇa coins are not unknown from Bombay province. Recently Dr. S. C. Upadhyaya of the Victoria & Albert Museum, Bombay procured the coins of Kaniška, Huviška and Vāsudeva from that area. One Wima Kadphises coin was found in Karvan

in Gujrat.²⁸ Unfortunately we do not possess detailed informations of the finds of the coins. Many of the hoards that are found, never come to the notice of the scholars and go direct to the melting pot. It is not unlikely that more instances of Kuṣāṇa coins from Bombay may come to light, if they are properly investigated.

Moreover, only in the times of shortage and necessity the import of coinage from another territory is possible. The Kṣatrapas and the Guptas had issued their silver coins in Central and Western India and the Sātavāhana and the local copper coins were in continued currency from the early times and were sufficient to meet their need. So quite naturally they did not require foreign currency. It is not surprising therefore, if Kuṣāṇa coins are not found there in abundance, though sporadic finds are not unknown. Similarly Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins were current in a period when the country was flooded with punch-marked coins. There was hardly any necessity for Behar to import a foreign currency. Had there been any stringency in Behar, even then it would not have had the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins from the Punjab, which was far away from Behar. Bombay and C.P. were also at a long distance from Kuṣāṇa territory, they too could not have had the Kuṣāṇa coins. It is only from the neighbouring territories, people import coins in the time of need.

Thus there is every possibility that the wide distribution of the Kuṣāṇa coins in the east was the result of the economic needs of the people in the post-Kuṣāṇa period and their presence there is not an indicative of any political expansion of the Kuṣāṇas eastward beyond Kānyakubja.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Coin Devices on Bhita Seals

One of the most pleasant features of the Gupta glyptic art is the occurrence of the well known coin types on seals and sealings. As early as 1940, Sri Krishna Deva drew my attention to it while Rai Krishna Dasa was salvaging the sealings from Railway vandalism at Rajghat. He has since written upon this topic in his paper 'Gupta Coin devices on Rajghat seals¹'. It is nothing unusual that both the seals and the coins, to a great extent, served heraldic purposes. Not only was the Gupta genius engaged in creating the greatest masterpieces in art, architecture, literature and philosophy; but the age made many new innovations particularly in its currency, which has yet to be eclipsed by any other dynasty of Indian history, or any other country at that.

It is not correct to say that Gupta mint masters and assayers merely concerned themselves with royal pomp and splendour. In fact, the series of Gupta coins and their types show an original utilisation of the monetary system, for enhancing the national pride and consciousness in the achievements of the people. The people might not have been so remote from the throne and the palace as our new fangled sociological doctrines would make us believe. The *Aśvamedha* the Lion-slayer, the Lute-player, the Standard-bearer types point to a desire to disseminate information about royal achievements and hobbies through the ever widening circulation of coins, thereby creating new cultural ties between the rulers and the ruled. The king was merely the symbol. Because he was the natural leader of the people, in war and peace, he was the principal architect, artist, and planning officer. He led armies in the field and spent nights on cold hard earth like a common soldier. He was in the forefront of the battle, in which his people fought to gain laurels of the war. The kings, in those days, were not mere lounge lizards; but, he was an athlete, a fine swordsman, a cavalry leader, bowman, strategist and organiser. The, *Aśvamedha* type therefore symbolises his supreme military prowess, in which, his people represented by the rank and file of the army, had a share.

The 'Standard' of victory signifies the unity, integrity and prosperity of the state; because, when it is held in enfeebled hands, it is the common man, the farmer in rural areas, the labourer in the industries, the caravan leader and the trader who suffered. He is shown playing the lute, because it exhibits the high cultivated state of the society. Nowhere in ancient India, the king lived in olympian aloofness; where he did, where he failed to maintain the high standard of leadership expected of him, the great feudal barons, high officers of the state did not hesitate to deprive him of his great responsibilities. Nowhere, in no age, and by no nation, except in the golden age of the 'Imperial Guptas' have such original methods been employed to keep people well acquainted with significant royal achievements in physical, artistic, political and commercial fields, as has been done by the assay masters of Gupta mints. Coins happen to be the principal means of daily necessities of life of the people; and gold was the international exchange. No other means was more suitable for keeping alive in people's memory the historical cavalcade for generations.

These seals had a heraldic value to the individual and to the people. They were to be used by great officers of the state, leaders in commerce, industry and banking. Every letter and every document was to be authenticated by them. Similarity in types between seals and coins need not therefore occasion surprise. The symbols represented no doubt the prevalent cult or sectarian values², but might have indeed implied and stood for historical, political and socio-religious facts too. The intellectual endowment was rare; still rarer the moral audacity.

The most important for our purpose are the two sealings relating to Kālañjara and its phallus.

1. Oval sealing with an ellipsoid field divided into two unequal segments by a waved serpentine line. The phallus has a bulbous head reminiscent (and not exactly) of Gudimallam *lingam*. Below it, a pyramid of balls or solid curves; there being an umbrella and trident with battle axe on either side.

Lower field: Legend in northern (?) Gupta characters, *Kālañjara bhaṭṭārakasya*.

2 *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 199-202.

3 *AR. ASI.*, 1911-12, p. 49, no. 15, pl. xviii.

2. Oval clod of earth in which is found the impress of a seal. The centre of the field is occupied by a *liṅgam* of the type previously described. On either side combined Trident and battle axe. Below defaced legend in eastern Gupta characters, *Kālañjara*⁴.

3. Circular sealing not unlike that of Mahādevi Prabhudāma. The centre is occupied by a pyramid of balls flanked by posts. A wavy serpentine line below. On top symbol of the Sun and crescent Moon. Legend around: *Śrī-Vindhya-bhedāna-mahārājasya mahēśvara-mahāsenāpatitisṛṣṭa-rājasya-Vṛṣaddhajasya-Gautamī-putrasya*⁵.

4. Pointed oval sealing with similar field divided into unequal parts by a line.

Upper field: Male figure standing facing front. In his extended right hand he holds an unidentifiable object and left rests on hip. At his feet on proper left side a conch. On the right a symbol.

Lower field: Defaced legend. A wavy line⁶.

Before attempting at an explanation of the traditional accounts in the *Purāṇas*, some comments on the symbolism of the sealings may not prove irrelevant. First comes the pyramid of balls or solid curves. Since time immemorial, superimposed curves have been employed by Indian die-engravers to indicate some object. About this I had pointed out eighteen years ago, "this symbol has been given various names. But the main controversy is whether the symbol represents a mountain or a Buddhist *stūpa*. The evidence at our disposal leads us to conclude that it represents a mountain. In certain punch-marked coins it is found associated with a dog, tree and crescent⁷. It also occurs on certain potteries found by Mr. H. Hargreaves in the pre-historic mounds at Nal. A seal of late Minoan type has been found at Knossos; on it stands a female deity on a mountain peak, the hill on which she stands is represented by rows of semi-circular curves⁸. Therefore, as shown above, the symbol under discussion has been found on pre-historic pottery within the borders of India; and in the

4 *AR. ASI.*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 16, pl. xviii.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, pl. xviii, no 25.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *JASB.*, 1890, pt. i., pl. 8.

8 *MASJ.*, No. 40, pl. xviii, no. 42; Glotz—*The Aegean Civilisation*, p. 245, fig. 40.

historical period, it is found associated with dog, tree and crescent. We have also shown that outside India the same method had been employed to represent a mountain. Therefore the only rational conclusion is that the symbol represents mountain⁹. The late Prof. Rapson has invariably described it as 'Caitya' in his *Catalogue*¹⁰.

Sir John Marshall rightly recognised it as a symbol representing mountain and drew our attention to the coin of Śivalakura and Vilivāyakura¹¹. The occurrence of the symbol along with the phallic emblem of Śiva specifically mentioning Kālañjara can have one implication, that it represents the mountain Kālañjara. But the most significant fact is to remember that the mountain symbol of the Sātavāhanas were being copied in the ancient Bundelkhand country. This symbol is common to the sealings on which the name of Kālañjara is specifically mentioned.

The serpentine wavy line below the mountain symbol on sealing No. 15 probably represents the river Ken in whose valley it is situated.

The occurrence of umbrella on one side of the phallic emblem on sealing No. 15 might occasion surprise. According to the Paurāṇic tradition and ritual, umbrella or *chatra* had a distinct personality. *Agnipurāṇa*, chap. 269 devotes itself in describing *mantras* in honour of the *Chatras*, which were white in colour. It is reported to have been born in *gandharva-kula* (*gandharva-kula-jātastvaṁ*, v. 4). It was the standard of *Nārāyaṇa*, *Vāhana* of *Viṣṇu*. He was created by Mahādeva from all the best materials in the world, in the *sarvamedha maha-yajña* (v. 29). Brahmā had given it the following names: *Asi*, *Viśasana*, *Khaḍga*, *Tikṣṇadhāra*, *Durāsada*, *Śrī-garbha*, *Vijaya* and *Dharmapāla* (vv. 30-31). Kṛttikā was its star, Śiva-Maheśvara was his preceptor, Brahmā its progenitor. The sealing too has the term "*Bhaṭṭāraka*" so the insignia is quite consistent, with one of its name *Dharmapāla*. The symbols on either side of sealing No. 16 do not require further elucidation.

The *liṅgam* too cannot escape attention. The *liṅgam* at Kālañjara is *svayambhu*, and as such is mentioned amongst phallic emblems

9 JBORS., Vol. xx, p. 178,

10 Introduction, p. cl. xvff,

11 AR., ASI., 1911-12, p. 49, fn. 4.

of its kind by T. A. Gopinath Rao¹². In the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the *lingam* at *Kālāñjara* is mentioned amongst those that congregated at Banaras. Here its name is given as *Nilakaṇṭha*. In the *Kurma Purāṇa* (chap. 34, v. 51) *Kālāñjara* is mentioned as an *anuttoma* holy place. Cunningham has already drawn our attention to the fact that the place is mentioned as one of the nine holy places of Northern India¹³. In connection with the performance of *Śrāddha* ceremonies in different holy places the *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions *Kālāñjara* twice in chapter 77.

The earliest mention of *Kālāñjara* however is in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, in which a famous lake called *Deva-Hrada*, probably to be identified with *Koṭi-Tīrtha*; is mentioned^{13a}.

It follows therefore that the phallus found on the two sealings of Bhita, is to be identified as *Nilakaṇṭha*, who is no other than *Kālāñjara-bhaṭṭāraka*—‘the lord of *Kālāñjara*’; whose pre-eminent position is further clarified by the umbrella, which is a royal insignia and is also found on the images of Buddha.

The most intriguing however is the oval sealing No. 22 found at Bhita. The standing figure of the god, with the right hand extended and the left on hip—a typical *Kuṣāṇa* feature seems to have formed an ‘archetype’. But our interest lies in the two symbols on either side of the feet. The symbol on the proper right is a conch. That on the left requires elucidation. This symbol has been with some justification identified by Sir John Marshall as found on some *Sātavāhana* coin¹⁴. It is actually found on the obverse of the lead coins of *Anantapur* and *Cuddapah* districts¹⁵. But the symbol is clear in barest outline, the details having been defaced in circulation.

A close scrutiny of the symbol on the proper left of the image however reveals that a curve at the left hand bottom is discernible

12 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. i, pt. i, fn., on p. 83, no. 32.

13 *ASR.*, vol. xxi, pp. 21-22.

13^a I am indebted to Sri P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for the quotations from the authoritative *BORI* edition.

14 *AR.*, *ASL.*, 1911-12,

15 Rapson—*op. cit.* p. 25, pl. v., no. 105-106.

and the whole symbol was on a rectangular pedestal. This symbol not only have several varieties, but occur on other sealings individually or along with other symbols. But on these coins it has a local significance as it is found on earlier issues of Pāñcāla¹⁶ etc.

The next sealing which calls for attention is sealing No. 44 : Oval sealing with oval impress (1½" x 1"). A bull with a sphere between the horns¹⁷ (?) standing facing front. To his right uncertain symbol and on his right a wheel, both on pedestal. The type of Bulls represented is similar to those found on copper square issues of 'Western Kṣatrapas' without name and date, placed in Śaka 70-125 (= A. D. 148-203); but on these coins there is no sphere between the horns. The alleged sphere between the horns seems to be an error due to optical illusion. In reality, it is the top of the hump of the Bull seen through the horns. A comparison with the figures of Bulls shown in profile either to left or to right on sealing Nos. 45, 46, 49, 52, 54 and 55 shows that the hump is generally shown in a crude circular fashion. Lastly comes the symbol on the right side of the Bull which Sir John Marshall has described as uncertain symbol. This is nothing but a variety of Śrī-Vatsa. The confusion was due probably to the fact that the loops of 'S' has been joined to the either arm of the arrow head. It is the same symbol which is found on square lead issues 'uninscribed or uncertain attribution of *Andhradeśa*' under the Sātavāhana dynasty¹⁸, and called *Nāga* symbol by the late Prof. Rapson, under a misapprehension. The point becomes quite clear on examining the reverse of coin No. G. P. 1 where the arrow between the two 'S', is distinct. The symbol on the reverse of coin No. 209 of pl. viii is also a Śrī-Vatsa symbol, only the upper loops have become defaced in circulation.

The Śrī-Vatsa has not only several varieties, but it also occurs on other sealings singly or with other devices, but it has not been correctly identified. It occurs on sealing No. 36 of Bhita along with the wheel, etc; and on sealing Nos. 39, 40, 44, 85, 86 and 117 of the same place. At Basarh it is found on sealing Nos. 557 and 731¹⁹. It

16 *JNSI.*, vol. ii, pl. x(a), No. 6, Coin of Vasusena.

17 Rapson—*Catalogue*, pp. 94, 326-27, pl. XII.

18 Rapson, p. 93, no. 207, pl. viii.

19 *AR.ASI.*, 1913-14, pls. xlix-i.

has a cosmopolitan character. It is the symbol found on Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*; it is found on the chest of Garuḍa of Besnagar capital; it is found on the figure of *Varāha* in the Udayagiri caves. In the *Mahābhārata* and *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* we find textual support for its occurrence on the *Viṣṇupāda* sealing found at Basarh by the late Dr. T. Bloch where it occurs along with *gadā* and other *āyūdhapurūṣas* of Viṣṇu²⁰.

In Buddhism it has an earlier antiquity. It is found as early as c. 1st cent B. C. at Sarnath. The first of the Sarnath antiquities is D(a) 42, fragment of a lintel of a *torana*. On the back side is a *dharmacakra* surrounded by 'tridents' (?) alternating with *nīlotpalas* (*Nympoca-Coerulla*). These tridents are in reality Śrī-Vatsa in solid form. On C(b)12 of Sarnath Museum a huge Śrī-Vatsa is found beside a pole on a pedestal with *nīlotpalas* (blue lotuses) and three jewels²¹. Finally, they are found singly on pedestals on railing pillar D(a)1 on both sides. First below the pillar having a '*nandipāda*' (?) and wheel capital; secondly just below the *dhātugarbha stūpa*. The Sarnath representations are not without further interests. First because of its association with *nīlotpala*; secondly it was fixed by passing a tenon through the device, indicated by two parallel incisions terminating at a point, and fixed on a pedestal. Secondly, it was a sacred object, because in both the instances we find it surrounded by a railing²². Finally it is also found on the umbrella of B(a)1 dedicated by Friar Bala. It is also met with in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela.

This Sarnath evidence is of more than ordinary significance. First, it demonstrates the undoubted antiquity of the symbol before its utilisation by the Gupta die-engravers. Secondly, it establishes that in ancient India, there was a custom of placing these sacred symbols on pedestals either for worship or for devotional purposes. Last but not the least, it proves that the language of symbolism was the common inheritance of all the great religions of India: Jainism, Buddhism and Brahminism, and was possibly *pre-Vedic* in origin. It is only the associated symbols and the collective values, (when beyond

20 *Ibid.*, 1903-1904, p. 110, pl. xl, fig 3.

21 Sahni, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of Archaeology*, p. 215.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 208, pl. vi, fig. 2. from left.

doubt as in the case of Viṣṇupāda seal) that can permit us to interpret them with any sectarian significance. For clarification, it may be stated that just as in c. 1st century B. C., at Banaras, the significance of the forms differed in religious character according to the specific instances of use; so on these sealings one identical symbol might have had differing values. Thus the symbol on sealing Nos. 22 & 85 of Bhita and 731 of Basrah found by Spooner are undoubtedly the same and identical device but their values might differ. The variety has been made possible by the juxtaposition of three original primitive forms, an arrow in the middle 'S' and 'S' inverted on either side.

The contradictory nature of devices on the sealing is now too evident to require any emphasis. The Bull is the *vāhana* of Śiva; the Śrī-Vatsa may be either Jain or Buddhistic and finally Vaiṣṇava in meaning. Typologically, the Bull is similar to those found on coins. It has the same bloated or stuffed appearance; what is more, it is not the animal's physical representation, but some Bull capital or free sculpture of 'Nandi' that we find on the coins or the seals. The grammar of symbolism having been lost we are unable to determine whether like the 'Ujjain symbol' the Śrī-Vatsa or the Bull stood for a *janapada*, *maṇḍala* or a *bhukti*. In the present state of our knowledge a heraldic, rather than purely sectarian interpretation is indicated. The original seal belonged to *Dandanāyaka* (Saṅkaradatta), of which government, we have although no precise knowledge. Nevertheless, the palaeography of the legend unmistakably suggests, that he possibly was an official of the Gupta dynasty. Are we therefore justified in taking the wheel as standing for the Gupta empire? Because, both the Pali and Sanskrit traditions take the wheel as a symbol of universal sovereignty (*cakkaratana*); wherever the *cakkaratana* halts all the chiefs of that quarter acclaim the *cakkavatti* as their overlord and take oath of allegiance. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*, *Papañcasudāni* have adequate descriptions of the wheel or the *cakkaratana*, one of the eight imperative insignias of a universal sovereign. The wheel has a nave of sapphire, and around it is a band of silver. It has 1000 spokes, its tyre is of bright coral, within every tenth spoke is coral staff, on the staff is a white parasol. After the conquest of the four quarters it remains fixed as an ornament on the open terrace in front of his inner

apartment²³. In the Brahminical tradition too, the Wheel was associated with universal sovereignty (*Rāmāyaṇa* II. 10. 36; *Mbh.* I. 73. 30; I. 74. 127 and 129). In the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* chapter 62, verse 68; the wheel as one of the *nidhis* of a *cakravartti* king is described²⁴. But what about the Bull (or is it the Nilgai?) and the Śrī-Vatsa? Possibly the officer hailed from places denoted by the Bull or Śrī-Vatsa; or had military or administrative associations with these two regions or either of these regions. It is also probable that he belonged to a family of former feudatory or governor of the 'Kṣatrapas of Avanti' or a Śaka himself in the service of the Gupta government²⁵.

The next symbol that is met with is the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' on a fragmentary sealing of the c. 1st century B. C. On the coins of Sātavāhanas and others, two varieties of this symbol are met with:

(1) Balls represented by a sphere within a circle (Rapson, pl. v. 90):

(2) Balls indicated by a solid sphere within two concentric circles (Rapson, pl. v. 89).

The most interesting of the sealings however are those on which we find the so-called *Nandipāda* symbol. No doubt it occurs on W. Kṣatrapa coins but it had still wider distribution than Śrī-Vatsa. It is found on the coins of Śaka, Pahlava and Turki-Kuṣāṇa rulers of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It occurs on copper coins of Azes with the type Mounted king: Pallas (Whitehead—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. I, Nos. 251-52, pl. xii); copper joint issue of Azes and Aspavarma bearing Mounted King: Pallas (*Ibid*, pp. 150-51, nos. 310-318, pl. xii). Amongst the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava rulers we find it on the coins of Gondophares bearing the type King on horseback: symbol; King on horse back: Śiva (*Ibid*, p. 147 ff, nos. 8-19, pl. xv., p. 150; nos. 35-37, pl. xv, p. 157; nos. 42-44) Wema-Kadphises has it on some of his gold coins, type King

23 G. P. Malalasekhara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. i, p. 832.

24 Dr. Nilkantha Sastri has explained the significance of the *cakra* in the term *cakravarttin*. (*Proceedings of 3rd Indian History Congress*, pp. 276 ff).

25 Different theories have been propounded by Dr. J. N. Banerji in his *The Development of Hindu Iconography*.

enthroned: Śiva and his Bull; Half length bust of the King: Śiva; copper coins bearing the type standing king: Śiva with his Bull (*Ibid*) p. 182, nos. 31-35, pl. xvii; p. 184 nos. 36-52, pl. xvii. cf. also symbol plate of Whitehead, Indo-Scythians, 31; Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa, 2).

The Western Kṣatrapas, we may safely assume, in all probability, borrowed it from their northern brethren. The symbol however occurs on the standard of the King riding on an elephant at Bhaja caves in the Poona district of the Bombay state. As Bhaja is ascribed a date of c. 1st cent. B. C., its earlier use in Mahārāṣṭra is proved.

The wide diffusion of the symbol is further proved by its occurrence as a sculpturesque motif in c. 1st century B. C., at Banaras. The term *Nandipāda*, as the very name implies, was taken as the impress of the hoofs of Śiva's Bull—*Nandi*; so its actual Śaiva and in a broader way Brahminical value cannot be denied. Though its actual use by Jainas similar to Śrī-Vatsa has to be proved, yet, its utilisation by the Buddhists can no longer be questioned. This evidence in the first instance is supplied by D(a)42 of Sarnath Museum where on either side of *Śrī-Vatsa* alternating with *nilotpālas* (*Nymphaea coerulla*) around a cakṛa, we have on pyramidal pedestals, first a circle, superimposed on which is a '*Nandipāda*', no doubt to represent the trident-symbolising 'Buddhist Church' with small lotus buds between the 'Circle' and the *Nandipāda*. Its further use is proved by its occurrence on D(a)1 of Sarnath museum on which we find first a *Śrī-Vatsa* on pedestal surrounded by a railing; pillar with vase at top and base supporting the three jewels (made of lotus, trident or *Nandipāda*), finally a wheel surmounted by an umbrella with festoons.²⁶

On C(b)12 an *āyagapaṭa* the *triratna* symbol beside the massive *Śrī-Vatsa* shows the use of *Nandipāda* for the Buddhist trident²⁷. If the representation of the *Nandipādas* had ended here, we might have justly missed an original *Nandipāda*, unique in its selection of elements used in constructing it and unparalleled in representation. This is found in D(a)7 of the Sarnath Museum. This is a corner post carved on two sides: on one side according to late D. R.

26 Sahni—*Catalogue*, p. 208, pl. vi, (fig. 2 from left).

27 *Ibid.*, p. 201 where the description is inaccurate.

Sahni an acanthus, a pot with lotus plant and a pillar as on D(a)1. But he forgot to note a significant intrusive element. The trident or the *Nandipāda* is totally unlike D (a) 1. It is formed by two *Makras* whose bodies have been utilised to make the curves while the two heads are joined at the centre to make the central staff²⁸. If the Banaras artists had not done anything else, this original creation ought to have earned them immortality.

On the seals and sealings of Bhita we have this particular symbol on the clay seal die No. 12 (pl. 53ff, p. 49); nos. 37, 47 (b), 55 (a), 61 (a), 62 (b), 76 (b), and 106 (p. 53 ff, pls. xix, xxi), and we are at a loss to explain their sectarian significance, but on heraldic basis—their meaning is eloquent.

ADRIŚ BANERJĪ

The Aṣṭa-mūrti concept of Śiva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia

Śiva was conceived in India, as well as in the Hinduized lands of Indo-China and Indonesia, as both immanent and transcendent. The immanent aspect of His Vedic counterpart, Rudra, is the strain of the famous Śatarudriya hymn of the *Yajurveda*, as also of certain passages of the *Atharvaveda* (Cf. VII. 87, 1 : XI. 2, 1). Gradually, there grew up around the god a legend, which appears in two passages of the *Śatapatha* and *Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas*. According to the former text, Rudra (identified with Agni), after He had been produced by Prajāpati, received from the latter, on His own supplication, eight names in succession, Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva (Mahān devaḥ), and Īśāna, representing different aspects of the god, each manifested through a visible form (rūpa). Thus, Agni became the form of Rudra, the Waters (āpaḥ) of Sarva ('All'), the Plants (oṣadhayaḥ) of Paśupati, Vāyu of Ugra, Lightning (vidyut) of Aśani, Parjanya of Bhava, the Moon (Candramas) of Mahādeva, and the Sun (Āditya) of Īśāna. The *Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* relates substantially the same legend, though it differs in respect of details. The eight forms of Rudra-Śiva, manifested in His eight aspects, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva (Mahān devaḥ), Rudra, Īśāna, and Aśani, according to this text, are the Waters (āpaḥ) Agni, Vāyu, plants and trees (oṣadhayo vanaspatayaḥ), the Sun (Āditya), the Moon (Candramas), food (annam), and Indra, respectively "This is the Mahān deva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways" (*Śaṣo'ṣṭanāmāṣṭadbā vibhito mahān devaḥ*)¹.

There is no doubt that the legend of Rudra-Śiva, in the two Brāhmaṇa texts, cited above, formed the prototype of the similar story found in the Purāṇas. The eight aspects of Śiva, as represented in these texts, however, are Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, and Mahādeva, and His eight bodies (tanavaḥ), the Sun (Sūrya), Water (jalaḥ), the Earth (Mahi), Fire (Vahni), Air (Vāyu), Ether

¹ Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, pp. 322 f; 333; 334 f; 339f; 343ff.

(Ākāśa), the initiated Brāhmaṇa (dīkṣito Brāhmaṇah), i.e., the Sacrificer (Yajamāna), and the Moon (Soma), respectively².

The concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti* or *Aṣṭa-tanu* thus brings out the immanent aspect of the Supreme God, Śiva. The *Mahābhārata* says :—

*Bhūr-ādyān sarvabhuvanān = utpādya sadivaukasah
dadhāti devas = tanubhir = aṣṭābhir = yo bibharti ca*³.

The Tāntrika ritual includes the *Aṣṭa-mūrti-pūjā* of Śiva in the eight forms: Śarva (Earth), Bhava (Water), Rudra (Fire), Ugra (Air), Bhīma (Ether), Paśupati (Yajamāna), Īśāna (Sun), and Mahādeva (Moon).⁴ The concept also finds expression in the famous *Mahimnaḥ Stotram* of Puṣpadanta, where the eight aspects of Śiva are named as Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, Bhīma, and Īśāna, with their eight manifestations, the Sun, the Moon, Air, Fire, Water, the Space, the Earth, and Ātman (in place of the Yajamāna):—

*Bhavaḥ Śarvo Rudraḥ Paśupatir = atb = Ograḥ sahamahāns =
tathā Bhīm-Eśānāv = iti yad = abhidhān-āṣṭakam = idam /*
(V. 28)

*Tvam = arkas = tvaṁ somas = tuam = asi pavanas = tvaṁ hutavahas
= tuam = āpas = tvaṁ vyoma tvamu dharaṇir = ātmā tuam = iti ca /*
(V. 26).

‘Kṣetrajña’ or ‘Ātman’, as one of the forms of Śiva, is also mentioned, instead of the Yajamāna, in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* notes that the two are fundamentally identical, and that either of them occurs naturally with different authorities as a form of Śiva. The commentator on the *Mahimnaḥ Stotram* also points out that according to Yogavāsiṣṭha the Self (Ātman) is called the Sacrificer (Yajamāna) (*Yogavāsiṣṭhīyavākyaṭ ātmā yajamāna ucyate*).⁵

2 *Padmapurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa, Ch. II. vv. 197 ff; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Ch. 52, vv. 2ff; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I. VIII. 2ff. Cf. *Saurapurāṇa*, Ch. 23, vv. 1 ff.

3 *Mahābhārata* (ed. Pandit Ramacandra Shastri Kinjawadekar, Poona), Anuśāsana Parva. Ch. 16, v. 34.

4 *Todala-Tantra* (ed. Rasikamohana Caṭṭopādhyāya, Calcutta), Paṭala V.

5 *Śivapurāṇa* (Veiṅkateśvara ed.), *Śatarudra-Saṁhitā*, Ch. 2; *Liṅgapurāṇa*, Uttarabhāga, Ch. 12; *Mahimnaḥ Stotram*, with the commentary of Jagannātha Cakravartī, ed. Arthur Avalon (bound with the author's *Greatness of Śhiva*), Luzac & Co., London, 1917. p. 18.—On the concept of the eight-fold manifestation of Śakti, see T.A. Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*,

The *Aṣṭa-tanu* concept of Śiva finds prominence in the works of Kālidāsa. The benedictory verse of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* mentions the eight forms of Śiva: Water, Fire, the Sacrificer, the Sun, the Moon, Ether, the Earth, and Air:—

Yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur = ādyā vahati vidhibhutaṁ yā havir = yā ca hotrī
Ye dve kālāṁ vidhattaḥ śrutivaiṣayagunā yā sthitā

vyāpya viśvam/

Yām = ābuh sarvabijaprakṛtir = iti yayā prāṇināḥ prāṇavantāḥ
pratyakṣābbhiḥ prapannas = tanubhir = avatu vas = tābhir =

aṣṭābhir = Īśaḥ//

The concept is also echoed in the benediction of the *Mālavikāgni-mitram* (*aṣṭābhir* = *yasya kṛtsnāṁ jagad = api tanubhir = bibhraton = ābbhimānaḥ*), and at certain places in the *Kumārasambhavam* (Cf. I. 57; VI. 26).

In Southern India, the concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti* finds profuse expression in the devotional hymns composed by the Tamil Śaiva saints. But the idea can be traced back to a much earlier epoch, viz., that represented by the Śaṅgam literature. The Tamil epic, *Maṇimekhalai*, pertaining to that age, mentions the Śaivavādin, who expounds the doctrine of the eight forms of Īśvara, which are the two lights (the sun and the moon), the doer, and the five elements.⁶ Saint Māṇikkavāśagar thus gives expression to the concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti* in his *Tiruvāśagam*:—

“Earth, water, air, fire, sky, the sun and the moon,

The sentient man—these eight forms He pervades”.

Appar and Sambandha, however, mention, instead of ‘the Sentient Man’ or the Self, the Sacrificer⁷.

vol. I, Part II, pp. 398 ff. Śiva and Śakti are conceived as constituting the two aspects of one and the same divine Principle, inalienably associated and essentially identical. Śiva is the agent, Śakti the instrument; the one is transcendent, the other immanent. The cosmic manifestations of Śakti are, however, in essence, the manifestations of Śiva Himself, conceived as immanent. —See the exposition of Śākta Philosophy by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopi Nath Kaviraj, in *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western* (Ministry of Education, Govt. of India), Allen and Unwin, London, 1952, Vol. I, pp. 401 ff.

6 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, Luzac & Co., 1928, p. 192.

7 J. M. Nallasvami Pillai, *Studies in Śaiva-Siddhānta*, Meykandan Press, Madras, 1911, pp. 101-3.

The concept finds expression in Indian epigraphy as well. In a Kurgod (Bellary Dist., Madras Presidency) Inscription of Cālukya Someśvara IV and the Sinda Prince Rācamalla II, dated 1095 and 1103 Śaka (1173 and 1181 A.D.), Śiva is invoked as having the eight forms of water, earth, air, sky, fire, sun, moon, and the self (salīla-dharaṇi-pavana-gagana-dahana-taraṇi-śāśadhar-ātma-lasad-aṣṭa-mūrtti). The eight forms of Śiva—the Earth, the Sky, the Moon, the Sun, Fire, Air, Water, and the Self—are also mentioned in a Raṭṭa inscription, in Old Kanarese, from Saundatti, dated 1151 Śaka (1229 A.D.) (urv-vī-gagan-cīdv-in-ānaḷa-marut-salil-ātamavar-aṣṭa-mūrttiyam... ..) In the Devapattana (Kāṭhia-āwār) Prasasti of Śrīdhara, dated 1273 V.S. (1216 A.D.), Śiva is described as pervading the three worlds, having manifested Himself through the eight forms: Ether, Air, Fire, Water, the Earth, the Moon, the Sun, and the Self (viyad = vāyur = vahnir = jalam = avanir = imdur = dinakaraś = cidādhāraś = c = eti tribhuvanam = idaṁ yan-ma-yam = abhūt)⁸.

In Indian iconographic texts, the eight aspects of Śiva, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Bhīma, and Mahādeva, are grouped under the collective name of *Mūrtyaṣṭaka*, their iconographic features are described, and it is enjoined that they should be represented in sculpture and set up in Śiva temples. But, Gopinātha Rao observes that there actually exists no sculptured representation of the group “at least in any one of the South Indian temples”⁹. Nor is it known if any such representation exists in any part of Northern India. The concept is, however, quite well-known to the ritual and plan of Hindu temple architecture. “The following are invoked and beheld in the bricks, when a temple of Śiva is built: the subtle body of eight components apportioned to man (puryaṣṭaka); the eight-fold manifestation of Śiva (aṣṭamūrti); the Pure Principles, and all the other principles and forms of manifestation (tattva) including the

8 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 270, A, v. 6; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, III, p. 110; *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 439, v. 2.—Description of Śiva as ‘Aṣṭa-mūrti’ or ‘Aṣṭa-tanu’ is rather common in Indian inscriptions. Cf. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 21 & 22, v. 6; No. 32, v. 3; II, No. 76, v. 1; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 25, v. 2; II, p. 10, v. 3; p. 120, v. 11; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 33, v. 7.

9 Gopinātha Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, Part II, pp. 403 ff.

“impure principles” of the world of duality”. Further, “any temple, of any shape, planned according to the Vāstumaṇḍala, incorporates in its shrines and innermost sanctuaries,—or in its walls around the one and only Garbhagrha—the eight directions of space and their presiding principles; it is a place of manifestation of the various forms of the eight-fold principle such as the Aṣṭa-mūrti of Śiva, in the temple Kamala”.¹⁰

From what has been said above, it would appear that the concept of the eight forms (*Aṣṭamūrti* or *Aṣṭa-tanu*) of Śiva, which can be traced as far back as the later Vedic literature, assumed a definite shape in the Purāṇas, embracing, in its fully developed form, the philosophical idea that the Sacrificer (Yajamāna) is the Self (Ātman) manifest. This Indian concept, already in its finalised shape, spread to the Hinduized countries of Indo-China and Indonesia. It is found in the Sanskrit epigraphic records of the ancient kingdom of Kambuja (Cambodia) from the 7th century A.D. onwards. In the undated Phnom Preah Vihear Stele Inscription of the Kambuja king, Bhavavarman II (who reigned in 639 A.D.), Śiva is invoked as pervading the Universe by means of His eight bodies: the Moon, the Sun, the Space, Air, Ātman, the Earth, Water, and Fire:—

Jayat = indu-ravi vyoma-vāyu-ātma-kṣmā-jal-ānalaiḥ

*tanoti tanubhiś = Sambhur = yyo = ṣṭābbhir = akhilañ = jaagt.*¹¹

An invocation to Śiva as pervading the Universe by His eight bodies (*ṣṭābbhis = tanubhiḥ*) is also made in the Tuol Ang Tnot Inscription of Jayavarman I, dated 603 Śaka (681 A.D.).¹² The Bakong Stele Inscription of the time of Indravarman I, dated 881 A.D., records the erection of a group of *Aṣṭa-mūrtis* of Śiva, and the eight forms of the god are mentioned therein as the Earth, Air, Fire, the Moon, the Sun, Water, Ether, and the Sacrificer, respectively:—

Il-āni (l-āgni-candr-ārka-) sa (l) il-ākāśa-yajvan(ah)

*rājav(ṛtt)-īri(t)-e(śa)sya so = ṣ(ṭa)mūrt(t)ir = atiṣṭhipat*¹³

10 St. Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, I, p. 104; II, p. 422.

11 G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I (Hanoi, 1937), p. 4, v. 1. —On the question of the attribution of the inscription, see *ibid.*, p. 3; also, Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Boccard, Paris, 1948, p. 124.

12 Coedès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, II (Hanoi, 1942), p. 40, v. 1.

13 *Ibid.*, I, p. 33, v. 25.

Installations of *Aṣṭa-mūrtis* are also alluded to in the Mebon and Prè Rup stele Inscriptions of Rājendravarman, dated 952 and 961 A.D., respectively¹⁴. According to the former of these two records, there is no doubt that the eight forms of Śiva were symbolized by eight liṅgas (*liṅgān yath = āṣṭāu = api c = āṣṭamūrtteḥ*). These eight liṅgas were sheltered by eight sanctuaries, grouped together. At Bakong, the eight sanctuaries in question were the eight brick towers which rise to the present day at the base of the pyramid. A group of eight sanctuaries on the lower storey of the Mebon (eastern) temple similarly enshrined the *aṣṭa-mūrtis* installed there. At Prè Rup, however, the eight sanctuaries cannot be distinguished among the existing architectural remains at the site¹⁵. No such shrine-group seems to be present in India, though there are Śiva temples in this country, where the liṅgas worshipped are conceived as representing one or other form of the god. Thus, Conjeevaram has the liṅga of earth, Jambukeśvara (Trichinipoly) the liṅga of water, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai that of fire; the liṅga of air is at Kālahasti, that of ether at Cidambaram, while the liṅga of the moon is worshipped at Somnāth, that of Ātmā, in the Paśupati temple, Nepal¹⁶.

The eight forms of Śiva, named in the invocation of the Mebon Stele Inscription of Rājendravarman, are the same as those in the Bakong Stele Inscription of Indravarman, noted above, viz., the Sacrificer, Fire, the Sun, Air, the Sky, the Earth, Water, and the Moon: —

Yen = aitāni jaganti yajva-butabbuḡ-bhāsuan
nabhasvan = nabbaḡ-
kṣity-ambbaḡ-kṣaṇadākaraḡ = svatanubhir =
*vyātanvataḡ = v = āṣṭabbiḡ*¹⁷.

But in the Phnom Preah Vihear Inscription of Bhavavarman II, as we have seen above, mention is made of Ātman, instead of the Sacrificer;

¹⁴ BEFEO., XXV, p. 330, v. 208; Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, I, p. 103, v. 282.

¹⁵ Cœdès, *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 76; Ph. Stern, *Le temple-montagne khmré, le culte du liṅga et le devarāja*, BEFEO., XXXIV, p. 612.

¹⁶ Pillai, *loc. cit.*, 103. Cf. also Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 311, v. 4.

so also in the invocation of the Prasat Sankhah Inscr. of Sūryavarman I, who reigned at the beginning of the 11th century A.D.: —

*Mārttaṇḍa-mandadyuti-bhū-nabbasvad—
ambho-nabho-bavyabbug-ātmabbir-yyah
aṣṭābbir = ebbis = tanubhis = tanoti
vyaktam svam = aṅgaṁ sa Śivo = vatād = vah* / |¹⁸

The invocation to Śiva in the Prasat Khna Inscription of the time of Udayādityavarman II (1060 A.D. ?) also mentions 'the sovereign Self' (niyoktr-ātmā) as one of the forms of Śiva, and Śarva as one of His names. The verse in question seems to hint, in a compressed form, at the eight aspects of Śiva, named Śarva etc., and their eight manifestations, such as the Self: —

*Namaś = Śivāya yasy = ānśās = sadā Sarvavādi-lakṣaṇāḥ
niyoktr — ātmā dibhāvācna veditavyā mumukṣubhiḥ* / |¹⁹

The concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti* in Cambodia, just as in India, was thus blended up with another, that of the identity of the Self (Ātman) and the Sacrificer (Yajamāna).

A passage in the Sdok Kak Thom Inscription of the time of Udayādityavarman II, dated 1052 A.D., reveals how a concrete expression was given to the concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti*, in their daily worship, by the worshippers of Śiva in that country. We are told that Śivācārya, royal priest under Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman I, used to offer daily a garland of eight flowers (to symbolize the eight-fold manifestation as it were) in order to please Fire and the god with eight bodies, i.e., Śiva (*yo = dāt svayaṁ pratyaham = aṣṭapuṣpīn = tanūnapāto = ṣṭatanoś = ca tuṣṭyai*)²⁰. A Banteay Srei Inscription of the time of Jayavarman V, dated 968 A.D., also refers to the daily offering to Śiva of a garland of eight flowers (*aṣṭapuṣpikā*) by the guru of the king, Yajñavarāha²¹. Indeed, the concept of *Aṣṭamūrti* had become so familiar in Kambujadeśa that the word *mūrti* itself came to be understood there in the symbolical sense of *eight*, and its use in that sense is frequently met with in the dated inscriptions of the country²²

18 Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, III (Paris, 1951), p. 46, v. 3.

19 *Ibid.*, I, p. 198, v. 1.

20 BEFEO., XLIII, p. 182, v. 67 (l. 46).

21 Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge* I, p. 149, v. 16.

22 Cf. Cœdès *Inscr. du Cambodge*, I, p. 81, lv. 37; p. 102, v. 278; p. 151,

The concept of the eight-fold manifestation of Śiva finds also prominent expression in the epigraphy of My-son in the ancient kingdom of Campā, which occupied the eastern portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The My-son Stele Inscription of Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman I, dated 579 Śaka (657 A.D.), refers to Śiva's "forms like the earth" (*kṣity-ādayo mūrttayah*). The "eight forms of Īśāna" *Īśānasy = aṣṭamūrttiḥ*) are also referred to in the My-son Stele Inscription of the same king, dated 687 A.D.²³ Another My-son Stele Inscription of Vikrāntavarman I invokes Śiva, as maintaining the world through His "eight holy forms" (*aṣṭau puṇyā ātmabhiḥ*). Śiva is further invoked, in the same inscription, as the god, "whose image, identical with the Universe, is manifested by His forms—earth, water, fire, air, sky, sun, moon, and sacrificer,—which are dignified by the titles of gods of very great power, named Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, Īśāna, Bhīma, Rudra, Mahādeva, and Ugra" (Avani-vana-pavanasakha-pavana-vanadapatha-daśaśatakirāṇa-śatakirāṇa-dikṣita-tanubhir = atanuprabhā-vābhiḥ Śarva-Bhava-Paśupat-Īśāna-Bhīma-Rudra-Mahādev-Ogr-ābhidhāna-pradhāna-samupabrūhitābhir = āvirbbhāvita-viśvamūrttinā)²⁴. The description of Śiva as 'Aṣṭa-mūrti' occurs also in the My-son Stele Inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, dated 731 A.D.²⁵

In Indonesia, the concept finds notice in an 8th century Sanskrit inscription from Java, viz., the Canggal (Residency Kedu, Central Java) Inscription, date 654 Śaka (732 A.D.), which describes Śiva as nourishing the world through His eight bodies (*Yo = ṣṭābhis = tanubhir = jagat puṣṇāti*)²⁶.

At Pedjeng, in the island of Bali, Dr. Stutterheim found a *mukhalinga*, which he describes as *aṣṭamukhalinga*, "the *linga* proper being surrounded by eight busts of Śiva, corresponding to his eight

v. 64; p. 165, v. 22; II, p. 80, v. 2 (l.4); III, p. 35, l. 2, p. 80, v. 3; p. 120, v. 1; IV (Paris, 1952), p. 123, C, vv. 3, 24.

23 R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Lahore, 1927, Bk. III (Inscriptions), No. 12, v. 27; No. 16, v. 10.

24 *Ibid.*, No. 17, v. 3; ll. 11 ff.

25 *Ibid.*, No. 21, v. 1.

26 Canggal Inscr., v. 4; Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, p. 118; B. R. Chatterji & N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java* (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5, Calcutta, 1933), Part II (Inscr.), p. 31.

mūrtis, but all identical in form, and eight complete figures of Śiva seated around the lotus below.” The time of origin of this sculpture has not been determined, but it is held to belong probably to the Old or Middle—Balinese period (10th-14th century)²⁷.

Thus, the concept of the eight-fold manifestation of Śiva, bringing out the immanent aspect of the god, spread to Farther India, in the form already developed in India itself. But this is not all. We have noticed above that in Cambodia, where our information is the most detailed on the subject, the concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti* had been so thoroughly and deeply assimilated by the upholders and followers of Brāhmanical culture in that country, that, far from remaining an abstract concept there (as it appears to have been the case in India itself), it attained a concrete realization, in the form and symbol of worship, in a country far off from its source, as a living ingredient of the Śaiva cult.

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

²⁷ See W. F. Stutterheim, *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art*, London: India Society, 1935, p. 31; Plate XIX and the description accompanying.

Abhidharmakośakārikā (I. 9-48)

(with English Translation and Notes from Yaśomitra's Commentary)

रूपं पञ्चेन्द्रियाण्यर्थाः पञ्चाविज्ञप्तिरेव च ।

तद्विज्ञानाश्रया रूपप्रसादाश्चक्षुरादयः ॥ ६ ॥

9. Matter, Rūpa, consists of five senses and five objects and one *avijñāpti*. The five senses, eye, etc. are what are called *Prasādas*¹ of Rūpa serving as bases of consciousness of colour, etc.

1 *Rūpaprāsāda* is to be disjoined as: *Rupāni ca prasādāśca te*. This excludes the mental faculty from the material faculties. The term Rūpa excludes *Śraddhā*, faith which is also a *prasāda*, translucent state of mind. One cannot argue that the adjective *tadvijñānāśraya* is enough to exclude *Śraddhā* in the definition: for one may incline to include it by taking *tadvijñānāśraya* a *bahuvrīhi* compound. To use *rūpa* would deter from taking it a *bahuvrīhi*; for there is no translucent matter of which the objects-consciousness would be regarded as basis. The use of *prasāda* is again intended to point out that the sense-faculty is a specified *prasāda* other than the objects grasped by the sense-faculties.

The Vaibhūṣikas hold that the sense-faculties are only some kind of transformation of matter. But according to the scripture they are supra-sensuous, transparent and inferrable from their consciousness, the bases of which are experienced as eye, etc.

The qualification *tadvijñānāśraya* is again aimed at avoiding the mutual overlapping of the definitions of the sensual consciousness. If the eye be defined simply as *rūpaprāsāda*, the eye would turn into the ear, etc. and *vice versa*. If the eye, etc. are qualified as *tadvijñānāśraya* i.e., what is translucent matter and basis of the rūpa-consciousness, that is the eye, there will be no such overlapping. No ear or any other sense-faculty can be the basis of the *rūpa*-consciousness. Similarly what is *rūpaprāsāda* and basis of the tactile-consciousness is *Kāyendriya*.

Or the pronoun *tad* conveys sense-faculties, and their consciousness is visual consciousness, etc. These terms are well-known in the scripture and not the terms like *rūpavijñāna*, etc. We meet only in

the world occasionally with the latter terms. Therefore this other interpretation is preferred.

रूपं द्विधा विंशतिधा शब्दस्त्वष्टविधो रसः ।

षोढा चतुर्विधो गन्धः सृष्टयमेकादशात्मकम् ॥ १० ॥

10. Rūpa¹ is divided into two and also into twenty; sound (*śabda*)² into eight; taste (*rasa*) into six; odour (*gandha*) into four; and touchable into eleven.

Two-fold rūpa is : *Varṇa*, colour and *Samsthāna*, figure ; twenty-fold : four colours; blue, red, yellow and white; eight kinds of figure : *dīrgha*, *braśva*, *vartula*, *parimaṇḍala*, *unnata*, *avanata*, *sāta* and *visāta*; other eight kinds of colour; *abhra*, *bāṣpa*, *rajas*, *mihikā*, *chāyā*, *ātapa* (sun-light), *āloka*, (moon-light) and *tamas*.

Eight-fold sound : (1) *upāttamahābhūtabhetuka*², e.g., sound produced by the hand and mouth; (2) *anupāttamahābhūtabhetuka*², e.g., sound produced by the wind, forest and water; (3) *sattvākhyā*, e.g., vocal act. (4) *asattvākhyā*, all other sounds. Dividing these four into *manojña* and *amanojña* we get eight-fold sound.

Six-fold *rasa* : *madhura*, *amla*, *lavāṇa*, *kaṭu*, *kaṣāya* and *tikta*. Four-fold *gandha* : *sugandha*, *durgandha*, *utkāṭa* and *anutkāṭa*. Eleven-fold touchable : four great elements, earth, water, fire and air; seven upādāya rūpas : *ślakṣṇa*, *karkaśa*, *gurutva*, *laghutva*, *śīta*, *jighatsā* and *pipāsā*. See Dhammasaṅgīṇī, 648 ; ver. I, 35; Vibhāṣā 127.1.

1 Rūpa : It is broadly of two kinds : *Varṇa*, colour and *Samsthāna*, shape. *Varṇa* is of 4 kinds; *nīla*, blue, *lobita*, red, *pīta*, yellow and *avadāt*, white. Other colours (*abhra*, etc.) are their varieties. The same rūpa by reckoning its other subtler sub-divisions, becomes twenty. *Samsthānam*, shape is eight-fold : *dīrgha*, long, *braśva*, short, *vartula*, round, *parimaṇḍala*, *unnata*, high, *avanata*, low, *sāta*, *visāta*. The remaining is twelve-fold colour : *nīla*, etc. four, *abhra*, sky-blue, *bāṣpa*, vapour, *rajas*, dust, *mihikā*, snow, *chāyā*, shade, *ātapa*, sun-light, *āloka*, moon-light and *tamas*, darkness.

2 *Śabda*, sound. *Sattvāsattvākhyāśca* = the vocal act and the sound other than the vocal act. *Upāttamahābhūtabhetuka* = a sound due to the cause of great elements incorporated, i.e., inseparably associated with the sense-faculties (*indriyāvinirbhāgavartin*); i.e. the sound produced by the hand and mouth. If *Sattvākhyā* is taken to be the same as one produced in the stream of a living being, the

externally created being (*nirmita*) in human shape also produces the sound by means of the hands and mouth, and that sound also will be *upāttamahābhūtabhetuka*. But as a matter of fact it is to be understood as *anupāttamahābhūtabhetuka*, because it is not inseparably associated with sense-faculties, (*indriyavinirbhāgavartin*). The created being utters the human speech by virtue of the creator's magic power.

विक्षिप्तचित्तकस्यापि याऽनुबन्धः शुभाशुभः ।

महाभूतान्युपादाय सा ह्यविज्ञप्तिरुच्यते ॥ ११ ॥

11. Of a person whose mind is either detracted or absent¹ the continuity of the mind which is either wholesome or unwholesome and which depends on four great elements, is called *Avijñapti*.

1 *Vikṣiptacittakasya*. One who has no detraction or one who has no detracted mind or no mind is *vikṣiptacittaka*. Or a person detracted and absent-minded is *vikṣiptacittaka*. विक्षिप्तचित्तस्य तदन्यचित्तस्यापि for example, a wholesome mind produces a wholesome *Avijñapti*. A man possessing other than the wholesome mind, i.e., either unwholesome or indeterminate mind is to be understood *vikṣiptacitta*. Similarly unwholesome mind produces unwholesome *Avijñapti*. A man possessing other than that mind, i.e., either wholesome or indeterminate mind is *vikṣiptacitta*. *Acittaka* is a person who entered into *Nirodhasamāpatti*. The term, *api* points out to the person who is of no detracted mind and in the state of good mind.

Continuity of mind is its flow, *pravāha* which is understood to be a flowing dharma, either *kuśala* or *akuśala*. It is only *kuśala* or *akuśala* and not *avyākṛta*. So senses, eye, etc. are not *avijñapti*.

Mahābhūtāny upādāya, i.e. caused by the great elements.

भूतानि पृथिवीधातुः अग्नेजोवायुधातवः ।

धृत्वादिक्र्मसंसिद्धाः खरस्नेहोष्णतेरणाः ॥ १२ ॥

12. The great elements are: earth¹, water, fire and air; and their individual characteristics are respectively: hardness, moisture, heat and motion². (They are mutually inseparable, because) their existence in each is inferrable by their functions like holding³ up, etc.

1 The term “dhātu” in *pṛthivīdhātu* etc. of the verse is to exclude such as earth, etc. which consist of colour and shape. Or they are *dhātus* because they possess *svalakṣaṇa*, hardness, etc. and *upādāyarūpa*. eye, etc. Eighteen *dhātus* are so because of their possessing *svasāmānyalakṣaṇa*. Or it means *gotra* in the Discourse of

six *dhātus* where the sense of possession is not intended. Or it means the seed of rebirth because it nourishes the birth. They are gross because they are bases of all other *upādāya rūpas*. The earth, etc. are *udbhūtaṃṣi*, i. e., wherein the functions, holding, etc. are manifested.

2 *Īraṇa*, motion. The momentary things cannot move from place to place; for the moment it arises, it perishes then and there. Therefore it is explained that elemental streams which are in the nature of raising up in the next immediate space are called *Īraṇa*. The well-known example here is the light-flame (*pradīpa*). The self-nature of the air is exhibited by its act, movement. Its lightness is qualified by *Īraṇa*. So its definition will be what is lightness combined with movement, that is the air-element. That which is moving and light is the air-element and the lightness is an *upādāya rūpa*, dependent matter.

3 The mention of the function, holding, etc. in relation to the earth, etc. is to indicate by the circumstantial inference (*śeṣānumāna*) the presence in it of other elements. In the earth, e.g. a slab of stone the presence of other elements, water, etc. is to be inferred because of its having cohesion, ripening and extension. Similarly in the water are inferred the elements of earth, etc. because the water has the power of retaining the boat, ripening and movement. The fire-flame has steadiness, appears in a shape and shakiness, so it is possessed of other elements. The air exhibits its power of retention and coldness and warmth, so it is to be combined with other elements. Thus say the Vaibhāṣikas.

पृथिवी वर्णरासंस्थानमुच्यते लोकसंज्ञया ।

आपस्तेजश्च वायुस्तु धातुरेव तथापि च ॥ १३ ॥

13. Earth¹ consists of colour and figure and it is called so in accordance with the common usage. Similarly water, fire and air are so called following the common parlance.

1 This verse speaks of the earth as current in the worldly talk and not the elemental earth.

इन्द्रियार्थास्त एवेष्टा दशायतनधातवः ।

वेदनाऽनुभवः संज्ञा निमित्तोद्ग्रहणात्मिका ॥ १४ ॥

14. The same senses and objects are regarded as the first ten bases (*āyatana*) and elements (*dhātu*). *Vedanā*, feeling, is an experience

and *Samjñā*¹, notion or judgment is a grasping of characteristic marks of things cognized.

1 *Samjñā*, *nimittodgrahaṇātmikā*, *nimitta*, a characteristic mark is *nilatva*, etc. which is an *avasthāvīśeṣa*, certain mode of a substance; grasping of that is determination (*pariccheda*). That determination is the same as *samjñā*.

चतुर्भ्योऽन्ये तु संस्कारस्कन्ध एते पुनस्त्रयः ।

धर्मायतनधात्वाख्याः सहाविज्ञप्त्यसंस्कृतैः ॥ १५ ॥

15. Dharmas other than the four groups of elements are what is called group of forces¹. These three groups, viz. *Vedanā*, *Samjñā* and *Samskāra* together with *Avijñāpti* and *Asamskṛtāḥ* are termed: *Dharmāyatana*² and *Dharmadhātu*.

1 Two interpretations are given in the comment. One is: *Ṣaṭ cetanākāyās* in which *abhisamskāraṇa* is dominant. The second is: *Samskṛtam abhisamskaroti*, one accomplishes what is accomplished. This explanation is possible by way of *bhāvinīsamjñā* like *odanam paca*, "cook the food" etc.

2 The so called *dharmāyatana* and *dharmadhātu* are formed of three groups of elements: *Vedanā*, *Samjñā* and *Samskāra*, together with *avijñāpti* and *asamskṛta*. Thus it includes 7 dravyas: *avijñāpti*, *vedanā*, *samjñā*, *saṃskāraskandha*, *ākāśa*, *pratisaṅkhyā*- and *apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*.

विज्ञानं प्रतिविज्ञप्तिः मन आयतनञ्च तत् ।

धातवः सप्त च मताः षड् विज्ञानान्यथो मनः ॥ १६ ॥

16. *Vijñāna*¹, consciousness is an awareness in regard to each object; in the *āyatana* classification it is the *mana-āyatana*, mind-basis and in the *dhātu* classification it is the same as seven dhātus, six kinds of consciousness and one mind.

1 *Vijñāna* = *upalabdhī*, grasping the bare object; *vedanā*, etc. are mental cognitions of specific characters of the objects (*viśeṣagrahaṇa*).

परणामनन्तरातीतं विज्ञानं यद्धि तन्मनः ।

षष्ठाश्रयप्रसिद्धचर्यं धातवोऽष्टादश स्मृताः ॥ १७ ॥

17. Of these six (kinds of consciousness), a consciousness which is of the just past¹ and preceding moment is called mind, *manas*; and (it is accepted as a separate *dhātu*) in order to provide a receptacle to the sixth consciousness², so that 18 elements, dhātus can be accounted for.

1 “The immediate past” (*anantara*) is to exclude the one screened by other consciousness. What is just immediate past of a consciousness, and not screened by other consciousness, that becomes basis of that consciousness. That screened consciousness becomes basis of other consciousness of which it is immediate past. It is therefore possible that at the mindless stage of the yogin the mind entering into the *Nirodhasamāpatti*, even though it may be long past, becomes basis of emerging mind, *vyutthānacitta*; for it is not screened by other consciousness.

“The past” (*atīta*) excludes the present. The mental consciousness at the moment is residing (*āśrayi*) and present. The same is accepted as past [in the next moment] and it is what is stated as: “in order to provide a receptacle to the sixth consciousness”.

2 The six consciousness-elements are the same as the mind-element and the latter is again nothing but the former; thus each one of them includes the other. If, therefore, the former is accepted the latter will be quite unnecessary and if the latter is accepted the former will be unnecessary. Thus the elements, *dhātu* will be either 17 or 12 in total. Hence says the author: *ṣaṣṭhāśrayaprasiddhyartham*.

The first five consciousness-elements have as bases the eye, etc. but the sixth mental consciousness has no basis and in order to provide that, the mind-element is established.

In the system of the *Yogācāras* there is also a separate mind-element as distinct from six consciousness-elements.

The Tāmraparṇīyās assume the heart-substance (*hṛdaya vastu*) as the basis of the *manovijñānadhātu* and plead that it persists even in the *ārūpya* sphere of existence. They postulate *rūpa* in the *ārūpya* sphere also, interpreting *ān* in the term, *ārūpya* in the sense: *īśadārtha*, “there is slightly *rūpa*” on the model of *āpiṅgala* “slightly blue”.

सर्वसंग्रह एकेन स्कन्धेनायतनेन च ।

धातुना च स्वभावेन परभाववियोगतः ॥ १८ ॥

18. One *rūpaskandha*, one *āyatana*, i.e., *manas*, and one *dhātu*, i.e., *dharma dhātu* include several *dharma*s. One *dharma*, i.e., eye is included in another *dharma*, i.e., *rūpaskandha* because of the homogeneous nature, and not included in other *skandhas*, *vedanā*, etc., because of heterogeneous nature.

जातिगोचरविज्ञानसामान्यादेकधातुता ।

द्वित्वेऽपि चक्षुरादीनां शोभार्थन्तु द्वयोद्भवः ॥ १६ ॥

19. The eye, etc. though they are in pair, are considered to be one element on account of their similarity in regard to genesis, object and consciousness. But they appear in pair for the sake of beauty¹.

1 *Śobhārtham*, for the sake of beauty. If there are one eye, and one ear, the face will be very ugly. Why are then the camel, cat, and owl, etc. ugly even though they have two eyes, etc? They are ugly in comparison with other species of animal. The animal which has two eyes is not ugly among its own class of beings.

Saṅghabhadra interprets: *Śobhā* = *Ādhipatyā*, very clear vision. The person in possession of *ādhipatyā* shines very well. One cannot see so much clearly with one eye as with two eyes. This interpretation is advocated lest that the superfluous eye, etc. may lose their *indriyatva*. Again here one may argue: Let one eye so broad enough come into being by virtue of karman. Why should there be divided bases of the eye?

In the *Vibhāṣā* are recorded these two views: One is for the sake of beauty; the other is for the sake of clear vision. One may ask: the pair appears only due to karman, why is the above explanation resorted to? The same thing is understood here. The living beings entertain an affection for the beauty due to repeated occurrence of these divided bases from immemorial time. So it is stated: By the force of such karman of entertaining an affection for beauty and clear vision the senses by pair appear serving the said two purposes.

राश्यायद्वारगोत्रार्थाः स्कन्धायतनधातवः ।

मोहेन्द्रियरुचितैधात् तिस्रः स्कन्धादिदेशनाः ॥ २० ॥

20. The terms *skandha*, *āyatana* and *dhātu* indicate respectively the heap, *rāśi*, door of origin, *āyatana*, and genesis, *gotra*. Three modes of teaching, *skandha*, etc. are introduced in accordance with the three-fold infatuation, faculty and taste of the disciples.

विवादमूलसंसारहेतुत्वात्कमकारणात् ।

चैतेभ्यो वेदनासंज्ञे पृथक् स्कन्धौ निवेशितौ ॥ २१ ॥

21. The feeling and notion (*vedanā-sañjñā*) are established as two separate groups of elements distinct from the mental phenomena; because they form root causes¹ of dispute and condition the worldly existence and also because of the causes justifying the order of five *skandhas*².

1 Vedanā and Samjñā are respectively principal causes for two roots of dispute, viz., attachment for worldly pleasures (*kāmābhiṣ-vaṅga*) and attachment for wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*). The house-holders adhere to pleasures on account of their inclination for enjoyment. The house-less ascetics adhere to wrong views on account of their perverted notion taking *adharma* for *dharma* and *vice versa*.

2 Reasons for the order of skandhas are given in the next verse.

स्कन्धेष्वसंस्कृतं नोक्तमर्थयोगात् क्रमः पुनः ।

यथौदारिसंक्लेशभाजनाद्यर्थधातुतः ॥ २२ ॥

22. The *asamskṛta* elements are not included in the said skandhas because of their lacking the characteristics such as *rūpaṇa*, etc. The order of skandhas is justified on account of their relative grossness, causing defilements, being receptacle, etc. and also due to the order of sphere of existence.

1 *Asamskṛta*-elements are not counted as a separate Sixth skandha; for *arthāyoga*, they do not convey any conception: *rāśi*, heap related to skandha, nor do they border on the vicinity of space.

Further the *upādāna* skandha indicates *samkleśavastu*, things causing defilement, and *vyavadānavastu*, things causing purification. *Asamskṛtas* are neither the first because they are without *āsravas*, sinful acts, nor the second, because they are unconditioned. Some one's interpretation: that the cessation of skandhas (i.e. *asamskṛta*-elements) is not skandha can equally apply to *dhātus*, *āyatanas*. Just as a cessation of the pitcher is not the pitcher, so also a cessation of *dhātu* is not *dhātu* and a cessation of basis is not the basis. Thus *asamskṛta* would not be brought under *dharma-dhātu* and *dharma-basis* as against our intention to put it so.

प्राक् पञ्च वर्तमानार्थ्यात् भौतिकार्थ्याच्चतुष्टयम् ।

दूराशुतरवृत्त्यान्यद् यथास्थानं क्रमोऽथ वा ॥ २३ ॥

23. The five senses are placed first inasmuch as they have their objects of present moment only; the first four senses are put first before *kāya* because they have as their objects the derivative elements (*bhautika*). The eye and ear become further first of the other two, because their functions are quicker, far and farther. The eye functions still quicker and farther than the ear, so it is placed first of all. Or their order is accounted for in accordance with their residing places.

विशेषणार्थं प्राधान्यात् बहुधर्माग्रसङ्ग्रहात् ।

एकमायतनं रूपमेकं धर्मादयमुच्यते ॥ २४ ॥

24. One *āyatana* is termed *rūpāyatana*¹ in order to distinguish it from the others and for the reason of its greater importance; and another one is called *dharmāyatana* to make it distinguished from the others and because it includes several and superior dharmas.

1 The five senses, eye, etc. as subjects and five things, rūpa, etc. as objects are termed *āyatana* basis each separately and not one *āyatana* collectively, and their distinctions are thus easily recognisable. Nine bases, eye, etc. are given a separate designation, eye-basis, etc. up to touchable-basis, but no rūpa-basis is given so a separate designation. The reason is this: When other bases are qualified by their separate designations each, the remaining one basis which is other than the eye-basis, etc. and yet comes under rūpa category, will easily be recognised as rūpa-basis; e.g. when all cows branded with marks, one cow which is not so branded will have as its mark that unbrandedness itself. Similarly the designation of *dharmāyatana* is to be accounted for.

Importance of *rūpāyatana* is stressed for three reasons: it has *rūpaṇa*, hindrance through touching by the hands and other limbs; it can be pointed out to be existing here or there; and it is a matter of common knowledge in the world. According to some other opinion (viz. of Dharmatrāta) it is *rūpāyatana* because it is divided into twenty varieties (I.10) and it serves as object for the three eyes; fleshy-eye (i.e. of ours), divine eye (i.e. of gods') and the wisdom-eye (i.e., of the saints).

धर्मस्कन्धसहस्राणि यान्यशीतिं जगौ मुनिः ।

तानि वाङ् नाम वेत्तेषां रूपसंस्कारसङ्ग्रहः ॥ २५ ॥

25. The Buddha has spoken 80 thousand dharmaskandhas¹ and these skandhas are either vocal or nominal in nature; hence they may be brought under either Rūpa- or Samskāra-skandha.

1 For some Ācāryas, i.e., Sautrāntikas who consider Buddha's discourses to be of vocal nature (*vāgviññaptisvabhāva*) the discourses are to be brought under Rūpaskandha because the sound-basis comes under this skandha. For others who consider them of nominal nature (*nāmasvabhāva*) they are included in the Samskāra skandha. But the Ābhidharmikas consider it to be of both the natures

(*oṣṭk* and *nāman*) and hence they are included in the Rūpa as well as Samskāra skandha. The theory of 80 thousand Dharmaskandhas is accepted by Ābhidharmikas.

According to some other schools Dharma skandhas are 84 thousands; cf. Satyasiddhi § 36. Other references given by Poussin are : *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* I. p. 24 : *Theragāthā* 1024; *Prajñāpāramitā* in the Akutobhayā of Nāgārjuna, 1.8; *Avadānaśataka*, II, 155.

शास्त्रप्रमाण इत्येके स्कन्धादीनां कथैकशः ।

चरितप्रतिपक्षस्तु धर्मस्कन्धोऽनुवर्णितः ॥ २६ ॥

26. Some ācāryas say that the dharmaskandha¹ is of the same size as that of the śāstra, treatise, (i.e., six thousand granthas). Others say that each part of the dharmaskandha is preached as an antidote² to some sort of wrong mental disposition (*caritapratipakṣa*).

1 That Śāstra is named Dharmaskandha and of the size of six thousand granthas and this Śāstra alone remains. Other eighty thousand Dharmaskandhas disappeared, they say.

2 Human beings are of different mental dispositions such as desire, anger, delusion, pride, wrong view, doubt, desire-hatred and desire-hatred-delusion. Some have desire in their heart but act in hatred; have hatred at heart but act in desire. Buddha preached antidotes for all these people.

तथान्येऽपि यथोयोगं स्कन्धायतनधातवः ।

प्रतिपाद्या यथोक्तेषु संप्रधार्य खलक्षणम् ॥ २७ ॥

27. Similarly other *skandhas*, *āyatana*s and *dhātus* are brought under the said five skandhas, etc. as it may suit them taking into account their respective characters.

छिद्रमाकाशधात्वाद्यमालोकतमसी किल ।

विज्ञानधातुर्विज्ञानं सास्त्रं जन्मनिध्रयः ॥ २८ ॥

28. The intervening space (in the mouth, nose, etc.) is called *Ākāśadhātu*¹ and they say² that it is seen as illumination and darkness. The *viññānadhātu*³, consciousness-element, is an impure consciousness which is the source of re-birth.

1 The uncomposite ether and *viññāna* are defined previously (verses 5, 12) but not *ākāśadhātu* and *viññānadhātu*. That the *ākāśadhātu* is different from *ākāśa*, uncomposite ether can be made clear from the sūtra : षड्धातुरयं भिन्नो पुरुषः । So it is now defined.

2 The word “Kila” here indicates it is the opinion of the Vaibhāṣikas. But in the opinion of Vasubandhu it is only the absence of a hinderance on material.

3 *Vijñānadhātu* serves as the seed for rebirth. The four great elements are nourishing factors of the embryo and *ākāśadhātu* is its enlarger, so they are all termed dhātu = *pratisandhim dadhate iti*.

रानिदर्शन एकोऽन्न रूपं सप्रतिघा दश ।

रूपिणोऽव्याकृता अर्थे त एवारूपशब्दकाः ॥ २६ ॥

29. One rūpadhātu among 18 dhātus is alone² demonstrable¹ by the sight; ten material dhātus have the capacity to resist others. The same dhātus omitting rūpa and śabda are indefinable (*avyākṛta*).

1 *Nidarśana* is a kind of *viśeṣa* by virtue of which certain thing can be so demonstrated. The rūpa alone is *sanidarśana* among 18 dhātus. The distinctions such as *sanidarśana*, etc. are all used by the author in consonance with the Sūtra, which is cited in *extenso* in the commentary.

2 By *avadhāraṇa* is meant assertion : *Sapratighā rūpiṇa eva*, dharmadhātu is excluded from it, because it is both rūpin and arūpin. So *avijñapti* is not *sapratigha*.

त्रिधान्ये कामधात्वाप्ताः सर्वे रूपे चतुर्दश ।

विना गन्धरसघ्राणजिह्वाविज्ञानधातुभिः ॥ ३० ॥

30. And other dhātus are three-fold (*kuśala*, etc.). All the dhātus are obtainable in the desire-plane of existence, Kāmadhātu. In the Rūpa-plane only 14 dhātus are obtainable with the exception of odour, taste, and consciousness of the nose and that of the tongue.

आरूप्याप्ता मनोधर्ममनोविज्ञानधातवः ।

सास्त्रवानास्रवा एते त्रयः शेषास्तु सास्त्रवाः ॥ ३१ ॥

31. The three elements : mind, dharmas and mental consciousness are obtainable in the Ārupya plane of existence. These three elements alone are both *sāsrava* and *anāsrava* and the remaining ones are *sāsrava* only.

सवितर्कविचारा हि पञ्चविज्ञानधातवः ।

अन्यास्त्रयः त्रिप्रकाराः शेषा उभयवर्जिताः ॥ ३२ ॥

32. The first five consciousness elements are associated with reasoning, *vitarka* and investigation, *vicāra*. The last three elements (*manas*, etc. up to the associated mental elements) are of three kinds. The remaining elements (ten material elements) are devoid of both.

निरूपणानुस्मरणविकल्पेनाविकल्पकाः ।

तौ ज्ञा मानसी व्यग्रा स्युतिः सर्वैव मानसी ॥ ३३ ॥

33. They (i.e., the first five consciousness-elements) are (said to be) free from vikalpa, a discursive thought in so far as they lack *abhinirūpaṇa*- and *anusmaraṇa-vikalpa*. *Abhinirūpaṇavikalpa* is an unconcentrated mind-formed thought, and all the mind-formed memory both concentrated and unconcentrated is *anusmaraṇavikalpa*.

सप्त सालम्बनाश्चित्तधातवोऽर्धश्च धर्मतः ।

नवानुपात्तास्ते चाष्टौ शब्दश्चान्ये नव द्विधा ॥ ३४ ॥

34. The seven mental elements (*cittadhātu*) are always associated with an object, so also are the half of the dharmas (i.e., those associated with mind). The nine elements, viz. seven *cittadhātus*, dharmas and sound are non-appropriated (*anupātta*); the other nine elements are both, appropriated and non-appropriated.

स्पर्शव्यं द्विविधं शेषा रूपिणो नव भौतिकाः ।

धर्मधातवेकदेशश्च सञ्चिता दश रूपिणः ॥ ३५ ॥

35. The tangible element is two-fold (i.e. *bhūta* and *bhautika*); the remaining nine material elements are *bhautika*, derivative only and so also a part of *dharmadhātu* i.e., *avijñapti* is derivative. (The rest, seven mental elements and *dharmadhātu* omitting *avijñapti* are neither). Ten material elements are collocated, *sañcita*; (and the rest are *asañcita*, non-collocated).

द्विनस्ति च्छिद्यते चैव बाह्यं धातुचतुष्टयम् ।

दह्यते तुल्यत्येवं विवादो दग्धतुल्ययोः ॥ ३६ ॥

36. The external four elements (*rūpa*, *rasa*, *gandha* and *spraṣṭavya*) can cut others and can be cut by others. They can also be burnt and weighed; but there is dispute about its being burnt and weighed.

विपाकजौपचयिकाः पञ्चाध्यात्मं विपाकजाः ।

न शब्दोऽप्रतिघा अष्टौ नैष्यन्दिकविपाकजाः ॥ ३७ ॥

37. The five internal elements (the eye,¹ etc.) are retributive, *vipākaja*² and accumulative, *anupacayika*³. The sound is not retributive. The eight non-obstructional (*apratigha*)⁴ elements are flowing, *naiṣyandika*⁵ and retributive.

1 The eye, etc. are not *naiṣyandika*, emanative because they do not continue their existence like *rūpa*, etc. when a man is dead. But they are retributive as well as accumulative.

2 *Vipākaja* means that which is produced from the *vipāka betu* which term may be interpreted thus : *Vipākasya phalasya betuh*. In this case the compound is to be explained as one having the middle part, the word *betū* being dropped like *goratha = gobbiḥ yukto rathah*, or *vipāka* means that action which is on the point of producing its fruit (*phalakālaprāptām vā karma*). Or the fruit alone is *vipāka* (*vipaktiriti*). Then in such case the cause is spoken of by the term of result just like the result is spoken of by the term of cause in the expression : पडिमानि स्पर्शयतनानि पौराणं कर्म ।

3 *Aupacayika* = that which is accumulated by nourishment, hygienic treatment, sleep and undisturbed state of mind.

4 Eight *apratigha* elements i.e., 7 mental elements and *dharmadhātu* are emanative when they are produced by causes called *sabbāga* and *sarvatraga*; and they are retributive when they are produced by *vipākabetu*.

5 *Naiṣyandika* is that which is produced by a cause resembling its effect.

त्रिधान्ये द्रव्यवानेकः क्षणिकाः पञ्चिमास्त्रयः ।

चक्षुर्विज्ञानधात्वोः स्यात् पृथग्भावः सहापि च ॥ ३८ ॥

38. The rest¹ (= *rūpa, rasa, gandha, spraṣṭavya*) are three-fold (viz: *vipākaja, aupacayika* and *naiṣyandika*). The only one element (*dharmadhātu*) is possessing the real dravya (i.e. *asamskṛta* element). The last three elements are of one moment (*kṣaṇika*², i.e., *anaiṣyandika* for one moment). The obtaining of the eye *cum* visual consciousness may be either at different times or at the same time.

1 The *rūpa*, etc, that are inseparable from the sense-faculty alone are retributive; others that are separable from the sense-faculty are *naiṣyandika* and *aupacayika* because they continue to exist even after the person is dead.

2 *Kṣaṇika* : These three dhātus (*manas, dharmāḥ, manovijñāna*) are those of the first pure *duḥkhe dharmavijñānakṣānti*. They are for one moment brought about by the cause other than the *sabbāgabettu*. They are termed *kṣaṇika* because they loose in the next moment the *anāsrava* state of the previous moment. The samskṛta dharmas other than the specified above are not *anaiṣyandika*, i.e., are not brought about by the cause other than the *sabbāgabettu*.

द्वादशाध्यात्मिका हित्वा रूपादीन् धर्मसंज्ञकः ।

सभागस्तत्सभागोऽपि शेषो यो न स्वकर्मकृत् ॥ ३६ ॥

39. Twelve elements (6 sense-organs and their consciousnesses) are internal¹ (i.e., pertaining to one's own person) with the exception of Rūpa, etc. The element called dharma is known as *sabbhāga*². The other elements are called *tatsabbhāga*³ which do not discharge their own duties.

1 *Ādhyātmika*. The mind, citta, is spoken of as ātman because it is the substratum of the idea "I". In the *gūthā* like आत्मना हि.....the term "ātman" is understood to be no other than the citta. This will be obvious from the other *gūthā* like: चित्तस्य दमनं साधुSuch dharmas which act as bases in regard to *ātman* = *citta* on account of their close proximity with citta are called internal; other dharmas which act as objects in regard to citta are called external. That close proximity is a fact through which a consciousness undergoes modification in accordance with that of the substratum. The eye-consciousness is localised only on the eye, etc. not on the rūpa etc. Similarly the mind is experienced only on the body associated with sense-faculty not on the locus of objects.

2 *Sabbhāga*. Whichever is a definite object of certain consciousness, that object is termed "Sabhāga", e.g. rūpa is the definite object of the visual consciousness and dharmas are so of the mental consciousness. That consciousness relating to that object may be either already arisen or destined to arise. Of that consciousness all dharmas excepting their own selves and their co-existing dharmas (*sababbhū*) become objects. Their own selves do not become so, because no dharma can act affecting in its own self. For example no tip of the finger can be touched by the same tip of the finger; no edge of the sword can be cut by the same edge of the sword. The co-existing dharmas either associated or disassociated do not become objects because of their very close proximity. E.g., a drop of collyrium applied to the eye is not seen by the same eye. However they (i.e. selves and co-existing dharmas) become objects of the mind of the next moment. Thus all dharmas become objects of the mind in two consecutive moments. Therefore *dharmadbātu* is permanently called *sabbhāga*.

3 *Tatsabbhāga*. The remaining dharmas (the eye, etc. and rūpa etc.) are called "tatsabhāga" as well as "sabhāga". They are

neither mere *sabhāga*, nor mere *tatsabhāga*. A dharma which does not discharge its own function is termed “*tatsabhāga*”. It results from this that is *sabhāga* which discharges its own function.

The eye through which a person saw, sees and will see *rūpa* is termed *sabhāga* eye. Here the commentary corrects Bhāṣya: It must be stated as “*adrākṣīt*” instead of “*apaśyat*”, which indicates the past of yesterday, whereas “*adrākṣīt*” indicates the past in general. So also is to be stated upto the mind. The ear through which one hear, heard and will hear is called *sabhāga* ear.

दश भावनया हेयाः पञ्च चान्यास्त्रयस्त्रिधा ।

न दृष्टिहेयमक्लिष्टं न रूपं नाप्यषष्ठजम् ॥ ४० ॥

40. Ten material elements and five consciousness-elements are to be suppressed by meditation, *bhāvanā*; the last three elements (mind, mental dharmas and mental consciousness) are in three ways, (i.e. some suppressed by insight, *darśana*¹, some by meditation, *bhāvanā*, and some unsuppressed). That which is undefiled (*akliṣṭa*)² is not to be suppressed by insight; neither matter which may be defiled (*kliṣṭa*) is so suppressed, nor five-fold consciousness.

1 The first sight of the Truths is *darśana*, insight, and it is constituted of the 15 pure moments, *kṣaṇas*. The same insight again and again repeated is *bhāvanā*, meditation. Or the mundane concentrated knowledge is *bhāvanā*.

(a) *Darśanaheya*, suppressed by insight, they are 88 *anuśayas* and their co-existing dharmas. *Satkāyadrṣṭi*, etc. are *anuśayas*. The associate dharmas, *viññāna* and *vedanā*, etc. are co-existent. Disassociate dharmas are *jāti*, *jātijāti*, etc. *prāptis* of *anuśayas* and co-existing dharmas of *anuśayas*, and also of *prāptis* such as *anuprāpti*, etc. which are also disassociate dharmas suppressed by insight.

(b) Remaining impure dharmas to be suppressed by meditation are: 10 *anuśayas*, their co-existing dharmas and their *prāptis* with their satellites uncovered and indeterminate forces, and impure *aviññāpti* with its satellites.

(c) Unsuppressed are pure dharmas consisting of *mārgasatya* and uncomposite dharmas.

2 *Prthagjanatva*, the state of being a worldling, forming a force which is uncovered and indeterminate, is included in the category of *bhāvanāheya*. Corporeal and vocal actions producing bad result being

material in nature are also included in the *bbāvanābeya*. But the Vātsīputriyas argue that they are all to be included in the *darśanabeya*. *Prthagjanatva* is opposed to the Aryan path. When there is Aryan path arisen, no *prthagjanatva* can co-exist. The actions of bad result being present, no Aryan path arises and *vice versa*. So they are to be included in the *darśanabeya*. To combat this opinion the author says the following: *na dr̥ṣṭibeyam, etc.*

चक्षुश्च धर्मधातोश्च प्रदेशो दृष्टिरष्टधा ।

पञ्चविज्ञानसहजा धीर्न दृष्टिरतीरणात् ॥ ४१ ॥

41. The eye and eight¹ parts of dharmadhātu are called *dr̥ṣṭi*. The wisdom which arises along with five kinds of consciousness is not called *dr̥ṣṭi*, because it does not make any judgment².

1 Eight parts of *dharmadhātu* are: *satkāyad,ṣṭi*, *antagraha*, *mithyādr̥ṣṭi*, *dr̥ṣṭiparāmarśa*, *śīlavrataparāmarśa*, *samyak prajñā* (= *laukikī prajñā*), pure *prajñā* of Śaīkṣa and pure *prajñā* of Aśaīkṣa omitting the *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādayñāna*.

2 *Santīraṇa* is a judgment after reflecting the object (*viṣaya-
npanidbyāna*). Therefore the mental *prajñā* soiled, combined with desire, etc. or unsoiled (i.e. *kṣayānutpādayñāna*) is not *dr̥ṣṭi* because it makes no judgment. The eye is a *dr̥ṣṭi*, not because it makes judgment, but because it perceives rūpa. *Prajñā* on the other hand is *dr̥ṣṭi* on account of judgment.

चक्षुः पश्यति रूपाणि सभागं न तदाश्रितम् ।

विज्ञानं दृश्यते रूपं न क्लान्तरितं यतः ॥ ४२ ॥

42. The eye, while *sabbhāga*, sees the visible, rūpa, but not the consciousness that resides in it; because the visible being covered or veiled is not seen; so says the Vaibhāṣika¹.

1 The Vijñānavādin, advocate of consciousness as seer, says that if the eye sees, then it will also see when the person has concentrated his mind on other thoughts. Such *prasaṅga* will not be raised in accepting consciousness as seer. So the consciousness residing in the eye sees, because when there is consciousness, perception arises; when there is no consciousness, no perception arises.

उभाम्यामपि चक्षुर्भ्यां पश्यति व्यक्तदर्शनात् ।

चक्षुः श्रोत्रमनोऽप्रोक्तविषयं त्वयमन्यथा ॥ ४३ ॥

43. One sees by means of both eyes inasmuch as he sees the object very clearly and brightly.

The eye, ear and mind, these three discharge their respective functions without being contacted with their objects. The other three organs do so otherwise, i.e., being contacted with them.

त्रिभिर्ग्राणादिभिस्तुल्यविषयग्रहणं मतम् ।

चरमस्याश्रयोऽतीतः पञ्चानां सहजञ्च तैः ॥ ४४ ॥

44. Three organs, nose, etc. (tongue and touch) are accepted to grasp the objects of equal dimension. The base or background of the sixth consciousness is of its just preceding moment and those of other five consciousness-elements are simultaneous with themselves.

तद्विकारविकारित्वादाश्रयाश्चक्षुरादयः ।

अतोऽसाधारणत्वाच्च विज्ञानं तैर्निरुच्यते ॥ ४५ ॥

45. The eye, etc. are bases of their respective consciousness, because the latter assumes changes in accordance with the changes assumed by the former¹. Therefore the consciousness is designated in the terms of sense faculties, because the latter serves as the distinct causes.

1 When the organs, eye, etc. are either fed with ointment, etc. or hurt with dust, etc. their consciousness also accordingly becomes either gracious or hurt. Similarly their arising or no arising and their efficiency or no efficiency are also governed by defectiveness or no defectiveness of the organs. It is therefore understood that a sensual consciousness assumes changes due to the changes of the organs, eye, etc.

न कायस्याधरं चक्षुर्हृष्वं रूपं न चक्षुषः ।

विज्ञानञ्चास्य रूपन्तु कायस्योभे च सर्वतः ॥ ४६ ॥

46. The eye is not inferior to the body, kāya (i.e., body, eye and rūpa, belong to five bhūmis, kāma and four (*dbyānas*). The matter, rūpa, of higher bhūmi becomes no object of the eye (of lower bhūmi) and so also not the (visual) consciousness of the higher bhūmi. Of the consciousness-species, the visible (rūpa) becomes the object in all bhūmis (i.e., higher, lower and its own bhūmi); of the body, kāya both the visible and consciousness become objects everywhere (viz. the body of kāma plane has as object the visible and consciousness available in their own bhūmi and higher one).

तथा श्रोत्रं त्रयाणान्तु सर्वमेव स्वभूमिकम् ।

कायविज्ञानमधरस्वभूम्यनियतं मनः ॥ ४७ ॥

47. The same holds good in the case of the ear. Every one of

the other three (nose, tongue and touch) belong to its own bhūmi. But the tactile-consciousness pertains to its own bhūmi and to a lower one. Mind is confined to no bhūmi.

पञ्च बाह्या द्विविज्ञेया नित्या धर्मा असंस्कृताः ।

धर्मार्ध इन्द्रियं ये च द्वादशाध्यात्मिकाः स्मृताः ॥ ४८ ॥

48. Five external elements (dhātu) are cognizable by two, i.e., the consciousness of their respective sense-faculties and mental consciousness; (the other 13 elements are cognizable by mental consciousness alone). The uncomposite dharmas are eternal.

Twelve internal elements (5 senses, mind and 6 consciousness-elements) and part of dharmadhātu (constituting 14 indriyas, viz. vital organ, 5 sense-faculties, 5 moral faculties and the last three knowledge-faculties) are designated as indriyas. (The other 8 indriyas are reckoned under 12 internal elements thus: the first 5 senses, eye, etc. make up 7 indriyas, two sexual organs being included in the kāyadhātu; and 7 seven citta elements (dhātu) make up one indriya = altogether 8 indriyas).

1 *Dharmārdha* in masculine means a part of *dharmadhātu*. Some persons read it in neuter gender. According to this reading the meaning will be an equal half of *dharmadhātu* as *ardhapippali* (= *pippalyāb ardhham* = a just half of pippali herb). If the word “ardha” in neuter is current in the sense of “part”, then the *vigraha* may be expressed *Dharmaścāsau ardhāñca* or *dharme ardhham* = *dharmārdham*.

Here ends the exposition of the elements (*dhātunirdeśa*).

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature

Dr. Agrawala, in his interesting paper on, "Some Foreign Words In Ancient Sanskrit Literature,"¹ has for the first time explained the meaning of the Asura battle-cry *Helayo, Helayo* referred to by Patañjali² and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.³ He has shown that the Kāṇva edition of the *Śatapatha* reads 'hailo, hailo' and is an address to God Illu of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and *eloah* of the Hebrew, the Babylonian-Canaanite *ilu*, Phoenician *el*, Accadian *ilu*, Aramaic *elaba* or Arabic *ilab*.

This *bailo, bailo* became a Tantric Bīja *Hili Hili* in Jainism. Another Bīja 'Iri' also seems to have been a corruption of 'cl' or 'ilu.' The feminine gender was used because it was meant for a goddess. These Bījas are used in the Sūrimantra, which, according to Jaina traditions, is believed to have been handed down from Gautama-Indrabhūti, the first disciple of Mahāvīra. The mantra is also known as Gaṇi-vijjā or Gaṇabhṛt-vidyā. It was at least popular in the age of Mānadevasūri, the author of Laghuśānti.

It is also said that it had undergone two or three editions and that Vajrasvāmī (c. 2nd century A. D.) separated the Vardhamāna Vidyā from the Sūrimantra.

Traditions also ascribe the origin to the age of Ṛṣabhanātha the first Jina and his Gaṇadhara, Puṇḍarīka, possibly because it contains the Bāhubalī-Vidyā, Bāhubalī being the son of Ṛṣabhadeva.⁴ The Bāhubalī Vidyā is to be worshipped in the second pīṭha of a yantra of the Sūrimantra and is especially used for *svapna* and *nimitta-kathana*. It is this Vidyā which makes use of the bīja, Hili:—

पणवो नमो भगवतो विज्ञापज्जंतवन्नतेतीसं ।

एसा सुविणनिमित्तं पकित्तिया बाहुबलिविज्ञा ॥१२॥

हिलि हिलि किलि किलि एए अद्रक्खररिसहविज्जमज्झत्था ।

चक्केसरीए दिन्ना ज्ञो (ता?) ठविया दुइयपीढम्मि ॥१३॥

1 JUPHS., vol. XXIII (1950) pp. 148 ff., IHQ., vol. XXVII, pp 1-17

2 Kielhorn's ed., I. 2; Āhnikā 1 on sūtra, I. I. 1.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2. 1. 24 reads *he'lavo, he'lavah*.

4 Comparative and Critical study of the Mantraśāstra, by M. B. Zaveri, pp. 161 ff.

हिलिहिलिपमुहा आयरियकालिपज्जंतवन्न अडतीसं ।

एवं बोइए पीढे तिनवइ सव्वक्खरा हुंति ॥१५॥

—सूरिमुख्यमंतकल्प of मेरुतुङ्गसूरि⁵

Merutuṅga further explains that “हिलि हिलि इत्यादि आयरियकालि यावद्वर्णाः ३० जयादिविद्या”⁶

The Bija ‘Iri’ is also used in the Sūrimantras—according to the tradition of the *Maladhārī-gaccha*, published by Muni Pṛitivijaya.⁷ The whole Mantra is quoted here :—

ॐ ह्रीं अहं नमो जिणाणं ॥१॥ ॐ ह्रीं नमो ओहि जिणाणं ॥२॥ ॐ ह्रीं नमो परमोहि जिणाणं ॥३॥ ॐ ह्रीं नमो सव्वोहि जिणाणं ॥४॥ ॐ ह्रीं नमो अणतोहि जिणाणं ॥५॥ ॐ नमो अणंताणंतोहि जिणाणं ॥६॥ ॐ नमो कुट्टबुद्धीणं ॥७॥ ॐ नमो वीयबुद्धीणं ॥ ॥ ॐ नमो पदाणुसारीणं ॥८॥ ॐ नमो संभिन्नसोईणं ॥१०॥ ॐ नमो उज्जुमईणं ॥११॥ ॐ नमो विउलमईणं ॥१२॥ ॐ नमो चउदसपुव्वीणं ॥१३॥ ॐ नमो अट्ठंगनिमित्तकुसलाणं ॥१४॥ ॐ नमो विउव्वि इड्डीपत्ताणं ॥१५॥ ॐ नमो विज्जाहराणं ॥१६॥ ॐ नमो जंघाचारणाणं ॥१७॥ ॐ नमो परहसमणाणं ॥१८॥ ॐ नमो आगासगामीणं ॥१९॥ ॐ वग्गुवग्गु निवग्गु निवग्गु सुमणसोमणसे महु महुरे ॐ इरिकालि किरिकालि गिरिकालि पिरिकालि सिरिकालि हिरिकालि ॐ इरियाए पिरियाए सिरियाए हिरियाए ॐ कालि कालि महाकालि ॐ इरिइरिकालि पिरिपिरिकालि सिरिसिरिकालि हिरिहिरिकालि आयरिय-आयरिय-कालि स्वाहा ॐ इरिइरिमेरु किरिकिरिमेरु गिरि-गिरिमेरु पिरिपिरिमेरु हिरिहिरिमेरु ॐ ह्रीं आयरियमेरु स्वाहा ॥ ६८०॥

The tradition recorded by Merutuṅga belongs to the *Alñcala-gaccha*. A study of all the different texts on Sūrimantra, published in the *Sūrimantrakalpa-Samdoha*, by Nawab, shows that Hili becomes Iri in the traditions of other gacchas.⁸ Both possibly mean the same thing. And the attempts by various writers to explain the significance of Bījas like Hiri, Piri, Siri, Iri, Kiri etc., in the above mentioned work, shows that the origins of these Bījas were already forgotten.

5 Published in *Sūrimantrakalpa-samdoha*, published by S. M. Nawab, (Ahmedabad, 1948), pp. 1 ff

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

7 Sūrimantra-Paṭālekhana-vidhi, ed. by Panyāsa Śrī Pṛitivijaya Gaṇi (Ahmedabad), p. 1.—मलधारिगच्छसंप्रदायागतः सूरिमंतः ॥

8 Cf. Nawab, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

It has already been noted by Merutuṅga that हिलि etc., and कालि are associated with जयादिविद्या (i.e. जया विजया, अजिता and अपराजिता)⁹ It is this group that is invoked in the Vardhamāna Vidyā, in the following words:—

“***ॐ नमो भगवन्मो अरहन्मो महद् । महावीर वद्धमाणसामिस्स सिज्जउ मे महाविज्जा । ॐ हो वीरे महावीरे जयवीरे सेणवीरे वद्धमाणवीरे जये विजये जयन्ते अपराजिए अणिहए अद्धिदे । ॐ हो स्वाहा ।***”¹⁰

Here *Anihae* is interesting. अणिहए is sometimes spoken of as अनाहिते in Jaina texts. *Anāhitā* is clearly Anaitis, the Zoroastrian goddess. Nanaia or Nānā has similarly become the Hindu Nandā, a form of Gaurī, this Nandā was converted by Buddha and worshipped as Hārīti according to one tradition. Nandā (Nanaia) like Timisikā (Artemis) is Dik-kumārī in Jaina traditions. Does the Bija *Iri* refer to Iris of the Greeks?

The origin of Kālī and a group of Vidyās is an interesting problem. In an earlier paper,¹¹ I had suggested a line of investigation into the origin of some of the Tantric deities, with the help of the Jaina traditions. The Jaina traditions of both the sects classify Tantric Vidyās into two groups—one group is made up of Ārya, Gandharva or Āditya (from Aditi) Vidyās while another consists of Daitya, Mātāṅga or Pannaga vidyās.¹² It is the second group which includes Kālī, Mātāṅgī etc., in it. Mātāṅgī, as its very name would suggest, is a charm of the Mātāṅgas or Caṇḍālas or non-Aryans. Dr. Sylvan Lévi in his *Tāntric Fragment from Kucha* (Central Asia)¹³ has shown that *Kālī*, *Mahā-Kālī*, *Vetālī*, *Caṇḍālī*, etc. are connected with *Viśvāmitra*, *Mātāṅgas* and *Triśaṅku*. Anāhitā, Kālī, and the use of the Bījas like Hili and Iri, supported by the Jaina tradi-

9 Jayā, Vijayā, Jayanti (Ajitā) Nandā and Bhadrā are parivāradevatās of Śrī in the third piṭha, Nawab, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

10 U. P. Shah, Vardhamāna-Vidyā-paṭa, *ISOA.*, vol. IX (1941) pp. 44-45, 50-51. also वद्धमानविद्याकल्प of सिंहतिलक in Nawab, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 18.

11 *A Peep into the Origin of Tantra in Jaina Literature*, *Bhārata Kaumudi*, vol. II, pp. 852 ff.

12 Harivaṃśa of Jinasena (Māṇikchand Dig. Jaina Series), 22.56-60 Also see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 161-162, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-caritra*, 1.3. 219-226.

13 *IHQ.*, vol. XII, pp. 198 ff.

tion of Āryan and Non-Āryan Vidyās, should stimulate further search for foreign elements in Indian Tantra.

It may be noted that Hili is used in a Mātāṅgī-vidyā, given in the medical treatise known as *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā* or *Vṛddha-Jīvaka-tantra*. The treatise in its present form is not later than the 3rd century A.D. and incorporates in it earlier traditions of the original work of Vṛddha-Jīvaka, who, if he is the same as the physician Jīvaka of Buddha's age, must be assigned to c. fifth century B.C. The Vidyā runs as follows:—¹⁴

नमो मतङ्गस्य ऋषि (वर्य) स्य सिद्धकस्य नम आस्तीकस्य, तेभ्यो नमस्कृत्वा इमां विद्यां प्रयोजयामि, सा मे विद्या समृद्धयतां, गत्व हिलि मिलि महामिलि कुरुद्रा अट्टे ममटे तुम्बिपसे करटे¹⁵ गन्धारि केयूरि भुजङ्गमि ओजहारि सर्षपच्छेदनि अलगणिलगणि पंसुमसि कक्किा-कण्डि हिलि हिलि विडि विडि अट्टे मट्टे अजिहट्टे कुक्कु कुक्कुमति¹⁶ स्वाहा । On p. 166, the text says, मानङ्गी नाम विद्या पुण्या दुःस्वप्नकलिरक्षोघ्नी.....मतङ्गेन महर्षिणा कश्यपपुत्रेण कनीयसा महता तपसोग्रेण पितामहादेवासादिता सर्वभयनाशिनी सर्वलोक-वशोकरणी स्वस्तिकरणी etc.

It may be noted that this mantra is used against Revatī-Jātahārinī-Vinatā, a Bāla-graha or a spirit carrying off or attacking children with diseases and ultimately destroying them. The origin of the cult of Nejamesa-Negameya, Revatī and other Bāla-grahas is an equally interesting problem and the association of Revatī with Mātāṅgī should indicate that the cult of Bāla-grahas is of non-Āryan or foreign origin. This is further evidenced by the fact that Kṛṣṇa, the Bhāgavata hero, attacks Pūtanā, a Bāla-graha. Mahāvīra was obstructed in his practices by a Kaṣa-Pūtanā or Kaṣa-Pūtanā, a Bāla-graha referred to in the *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā*. And Buddha subdued a child-devouring Hārīti who is also a Bāla-graha, whom I have identified with Revatī-Bahuputrikā-Bahurūpā-Jātahārinī.¹⁷

The *Āṅgaviijā*, an unpublished Jaina work in Nimittaśāstra giving

14 *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā*, p. 167. For Bijas Hili, Mili, Selmi, Khili etc., also see Mantras of Kumāra, Pitāmaha and Rudra, in *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa, Uttarasthāna, Adh. VI.

15-16 अट्टे मट्टे is also used in mantras of Pārśvanātha, who is acknowledged as a historical personage. Such apparently meaningless words are possibly from dialects of ancient tribes, and we do not know their meaning or origin.

17 Shah U. P., *Harinegameṣi*, *IISOA.*, XIX,

a list of goddesses, refers to one Timisakā or Timisikā, who is Artemis of the Greeks.¹⁸

India's contact with the Akhaemenians Iranians from the time of Darius and the Greek contact from the age of Alexander if not much before him, and the later immigration of Bactrian-Greeks, Śakas and others in India, naturally resulted in cultural exchanges. The natives or non-Aryans in India, the Dravidians, also contributed not a little to the Indian cults. Who were the Pannagas i.e. the Nāgas, whose Vidyās are Mātāṅgī, Caṇḍālīnī, Kālī and others? Were they the natives whom the conquering Āryans drove farther and farther away, whose Vidyās are classed as non-Āryan Vidyās by the Jaina traditions? The Winged-Mother-goddess Terracotta is well-known. Is she Vinatā, a non-Āryan Mother-goddess, who later became a terrific female Bāla graha?

What is the origin of Irā-Ilā-Idā of the Vedas? The Greek, Iris and Irā, Ilā seem to have common origins in an ancient Mother-goddess,¹⁹ Ilā can also be rendered as a goddess from Ilu, el, elah, used for male god.

Irā, mentioned less than a dozen times in the RV., is the personification of offering of milk and butter, thus representing plenty of the cow. Hence Idā in the *Brāhmaṇas* is frequently connected with the cow and in the *Naighaṇṭuka* it occurs as a synonym of the cow. She is butter-handed and butter-footed. As a personification, she generally appears in the Āprī hymns, in which she usually forms a triad with Sarasvatī and Mahī or Bhārati²⁰ Her connection with Sarasvatī, a river goddess (later the goddess of speech and learning) is noteworthy. Is Ilā-Idā derived from Iris-Irā? Iris is the name of a river in Asia Minor.²¹ And the phrase

18 I am thankful to Dr. Motichandra who first identified Timisakā as Artemis from Buddhist literature. I am also thankful to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijaya-jī for giving me the reference to Timisikā from the Aṅgavijjā Mss. Artemis, sister of Apollo, is the goddess of archery who takes pastime in chase.

19 Iris, in Greek mythology, is rainbow personified, the messenger of gods to men. She carries the caduceus, the herald's staff of Hermes. She is besides 'golden-winged' in literature, painting and sculpture.

20 For all references to original texts and discussions on Ilā see, Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 124 ff.

21 Iris and its tributary the Lycus have their rise in the highlands on the frontiers of Armenia, and are very considerable streams, flowing through fertile valleys.

ilāyās pade (in the wake of Ilā) would have primarily meant, 'on the course of or on the banks of Irā.' The phrase is generally taken to mean, 'in the place of nourishment (i.e. of the sacrificial fire).' Agni is once called the son of Ilā,²² clearly an allusion to the place of production and may refer to the sacrificial fires on the bank of Irā-Iris. Pururavas, said to be her son (RV. 10.95.18), may then show Pururavas as a native of the Iris-Irā-Valley.²³

UMAKANT PRAMANAND SHAH

22 RV., 3. 29. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

23 It is interesting to find that the subject is being pursued with fresh vigour recently; also see *Foreign Elements in Hindu Ritual and Practice*, by Sri Adris Banerji, *IHQ.*, XXVIII. 3, pp. 257 ff.

The study of foreign or non-Āryan elements in Indian religions, languages and culture is fascinating and highly essential for a proper understanding of the heritage of Indian Culture. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's recent Presidential Address at the All India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad Session, 1953, was an excellent attempt to synthesise the results of earlier researches, both by himself and by others. Also see, Dr. S. K. Chatterji's *Race Movements and Primitive Culture, Vedic Age*, pp. 141ff.

The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra*

[द्वावनियतौ धर्मौ ।]¹

इमौ खलु आयुष्मन्तौ द्वौ अनियतौ धर्मौ अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमा-
गच्छतः ।

१ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मातृग्रामेण सार्धमेक एकिकया रहसि प्रतिच्छन्ने आसने
निषद्यां² कल्पयेदलंकामयितुम् । सचेच्छ्राद्धेयवचनोपासिका³ त्रयाणां
धर्माणां अन्यतमान्यतमधर्मेण वदेत् पाराजिकेन वा संघादिशेषेण वा पायन्ति-
केन वा निषद्यां भिक्षुः प्रति[जानमानः]⁴ त्रयाणां धर्माणां अन्यतमान्यत-
मेन धर्मेण कारयितव्यः⁵ पाराजिकेन वा संघावशेषेण वा पायन्तिकेन वा येन
येन वा पुनः श्राद्धेयवचनोपासिका तं भिक्षुं धर्मेण वदेत् तेन तेन धर्मेण स
भिक्षुः कारयितव्यो⁶ऽयं धर्मोनियतः ।

२ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मातृग्रामेण सार्धमेक एकिकया रहसि प्रतिच्छन्ने
आसन्ने निषद्यां⁷ कल्पयेन्नलंकामयितुम् । सचेच्छ्राद्धेयवचनोपासिका द्वयो
र्धर्मयोः अन्यतमान्यतमधर्मेण वदेत् संघावशेषेण वा पायन्तिकेन वा निषद्यां⁸
भिक्षुः प्रतिजानतो [द्वयोर्धर्मयोः]⁹ संघावशेषेण वा [पायन्तिकेन वा]¹⁰येन
येन वा पुनः श्राद्धेयवचनोपासिका [तं]¹⁰ भिक्षुं धर्मेण वदेत् तेन तेन धर्मेण स
भिक्षुः कारयितव्योऽयमपि धर्मोनियतः ।

उद्दिष्टा मे आयुष्मन्तः द्वौ अनियतौ धर्मौ । तत्राहमायुष्मतः परिपृच्छामि—
कश्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

* Continued from p. 174 of vol xxix. No. 2

1 Tib. ma-ñes-paḥi-chos-gñis.

2 Ms. निषिद्यां

3 Ms. उद्देशको ; Tib. dge-bśñen-ma.

4 Tib. khas-blañis-na.

5 Ms. कारयितव्यो

6 Ms. निषिद्यां

7 Ms. निषिद्यां

8 Tib. chos-gñis po.

9 Tib. ltuñ-byed.

10 Tib. de.

[त्रिंशन्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका धर्माः ।]¹¹

इमे खलु आयुष्मन्त्रिंशन्नैसर्गिकाः पायन्तिका धर्मा अन्वर्थमासं प्राति-
मोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

१ । निष्ठितचीवरेण भिक्षुणा उद्धृते कठिने दशाहपरमं¹² अतिरेकचीवर-
मविकल्पितं धारयितव्यं ततः उत्तरि धारयेन्नैसर्गिका¹³ पायन्तिका ।

२ । निष्ठितचीवरो भिक्षुः उद्धृतकठिने एकरात्रमपि चेत् त्रयाणां
चीवराणां अन्यतमान्यतमस्य चीवरात् वहिः सीमां विप्रवसेत् अन्यत्र संग्र-
संभृत्या¹⁴ नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

३ । निष्ठितचीवरस्य भिक्षोरुद्धृते कठिने उत्पत्य अकालचीवरमाकांक्षिना
तेन भिक्षुणा तच्चीवरं प्रतिग्रहीतव्यं प्रतिगृह्य सचेत्परिपूर्यते क्षिप्रमेव कृत्वा
धारयितव्यम् । नोचेत्परिपूर्यते मासपरमं तेन भिक्षुणा तच्चीवरमुपनिक्षिप्तव्यं
सत्यां चीवरप्रत्याशायां ऊनस्य वा परिपूरयेत्, ततः उत्तरि उपनिक्षिपेत्,
नैसर्गिक[पायन्तिका]¹⁵ ।

४ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञातिकया भिक्षुण्या पुराणचीवरं धावयेद्रजयेदाको-
टयेद्वा नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

५ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञातिकया भिक्षुण्या अन्तिकाचीवरं प्रतिगृह्णीयादन्यत्र
परिवर्तकान्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

६ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञातिगृहपतिं गृहपतिपत्नीं वोपसंक्रम्य चीवरं विज्ञापये-
दन्यत्र समयान्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका । तत्रायं समय आच्छिन्नचीवरो भिक्षु
र्भवति नष्टचीवरो दग्धचीवरो ऊढचीवरो हृतचीवरोयं तत्र समयः ।

७ । आच्छिन्नचीवरेण भिक्षुणा नष्टचीवरेण दग्धचीवरेण ऊढचीवरेण हृत-
चीवरेणाज्ञातिगृहपतिना गृहपतिपत्नीं वोपसंक्रम्य चीवरं विज्ञापयितव्यः तं
चेच्छ्राद्धो ब्राह्मणो गृहपतिर्वा त्यर्थं संबहलैश्चीवरैः प्रवारयेत् आकांक्षता तेन
भिक्षुणा सान्तरोत्तर[परमं]¹⁶ तस्माच्चीवरं प्रति[ग्रहीतव्यं]¹⁷ तत उत्तरि प्रति-
गृह्णीयान्नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

11 Tib. Spañ-baḥi-ltuñ-byed-kyi-chos-sum-bcu.

12 Ms. दशां आपरं ; Tib. zhag-bcuḥi-bar-du.

13 Ms. धरयेणै० ; Tib. ḥchañ-na-spañ-baḥi-ltuñ-byed-do.

14 Ms. संभृत्या ; Tib. dge-ḥdun-gyis-gnañ-ba.

15 Tib. Spañ-baḥi-ltuñ-byed-do.

16 Tib. gos-stod-gyogs-smad-gyogs-dañ-bcas-paḥi-mthar-thug-pa.

17 Tib. blañ-bar-byaho.

८। भिक्षुं खलूद्दिश्याज्ञातिना गृहपतिना गृहपतिपत्न्या वा चीवरचेतन-
कानि प्रत्युपस्थापितानि स्युः एभिरहं चीवरचेतनकैरे[वंरूपं]¹⁸ चैवंरूपं¹⁹ च
चीवरं चेतयित्वा²⁰ एवंनामा भिक्षुरूपसंक्रमिष्यति तमाच्छादयिष्यामि चीवरेण
काले कल्पिकेनेति । तत्र चैको भिक्षुः पूर्वमपवारितः सन् कंचिदेव [विकल्पं]²¹
प्रतिपद्य तमज्ञातिं गृहपतिं गृहपतिपत्नीं वोपसंक्रम्यैवं [वदेत्—यानि
तानि आयुष्मता मा²²] मुद्दिश्य चीवरतेनकानि प्रत्युपस्थापितानि साध्या-
युष्मंस्ते चीवरचेतनकैरेवरूपं चैवंरूपं च चीवरं चेतयित्वा आच्छादयेऽहं
चीवरेण कालेन कल्पिकेनेति । अभिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

९। भिक्षुं खलूद्दिश्याज्ञातिनागृहपतिना गृहपतिपत्न्या च प्रत्येक-
प्रत्येकानि चीवरचेतनकानि प्रत्युपस्थापितानि स्युः । एभिरावां प्रत्येक-
प्रत्येकैः चीवरचेतनकैरेवरूपं चैवंरूपं च प्रत्येक-प्रत्येकं चीवरं चेतयित्वा
एवंनामा भिक्षुरूपसंक्रमिष्यति तमाच्छादयिष्यावः । प्रत्येकप्रत्येकाभ्यां
चीवरचेतनकाभ्यां काले कल्पिकाभ्यामिति । तत्र चेत्स भिक्षुः पूर्वमप्रवारितः
सन् कंचिदेव विकल्पमापत्य तमज्ञातिगृहपतिं गृहपतिपत्नीं वोपसंक्रम्यैवं
वदेद्यानि तान्यायुष्मत्यास्मानुद्दिश्य प्रत्येकप्रत्येकानि चीवरचेतनकानि प्रत्युप-
स्थापितानि । साध्यायुष्मन्तौ तौ प्रत्येकप्रत्येकैश्चीवरचेतनकैरेवरूपं चैवंरूपं
च चीवरं चेतयित्वा आच्छादयतामुभावपि भूत्वा एकैकेन चीवरेण काले
कल्पिकेन कल्याणकामतामुपादायाभिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

१०। भिक्षुं खलूद्दिश्य राज्ञा]²³ वा राजमात्रेण वा ब्राह्मणेन वा गृह-
पतिना वा नैगमेन वा जानपदेन वा धनिना वा श्रेष्ठिना वा सार्थवाहेन वा
दूतस्य हस्ते चीवरचेतनकानि अनुप्रेषितानि स्युः । अथ स दूतस्तानि चेतन-
कानि [आदाय येन]²⁴ स भिक्षुस्तेनोपसंक्रामेदुपसंक्रम्य तं भिक्षुमेव वदेत् ।
यत्खल्वार्य जानीयात्[त्वामुद्दिश्य राज्ञा वा राजमात्रेण वा]²⁵ ब्राह्मणेन वा गृह-
पतिना वा नैगमेन वा जानपदेन वा धनिना वा श्रेष्ठिना वा सार्थवाहेन
वा चीवरचेतनकेन वानुप्रेषितान्यार्यं प्रतिगृह्णात्वनुकंपामुपादाय । तेन
भिक्षुणा स दूत इदं स्थाद्वचनीयः—गच्छायुष्मन् दूत भिक्षूणां चीवर-
चेतनकानि पत्यन्ते परिग्रहीतुम् । चीवरं तु वयं लब्ध्वा प्रतिगृह्णीमः

18 Tib. ḥdi-lta-bu.

19 Tib. omits it.

20 Ms. चेतयिद्वा ; Tib. ños-la.

21 Tib. rtogs-pa.

22 Tib. tshe-dañ-ldan-pas-bdag-gi-phyir.....gañ-dag-de-dagsmras-te.

23 Tib. phyir-rgyal-poḥam.

24 Tib. ga-la-ba.....phyin-nas.

25 Tib. khyod-la-rgyal-poḥam. blon-po-chen-po-ḥam.

काले कल्पिकं । स दूतस्तं भिक्षुमेवं वदेदस्ति कश्चिदार्याणां वैय्यावृत्य-
करो, य आर्याणां वैय्यावृत्यं प्रत्यनुभवतीति । चीवरार्थिकेन भिक्षुणा
वैय्यावृत्यकरो व्यपदेष्टव्यः आरामिको वा उपासको वा एते दूत
भिक्षूणां वैय्यावृत्यकरा एते भिक्षूणां वैय्यावृत्यं प्रत्यनुभवन्तीति । अथ स
दूतस्तानि चीवरचेतनकराण्यादाय येन स वैय्यावृत्यकरस्तेनोपसंक्रामेत् ।
उपसंक्रम्य तं वैय्यावृत्यकरमेवं वदेत् । खल्वायुष्मन् वैय्यावृत्यकर जानीया
एभिस्तं चीवरचेतनकैरेवरूपं चैवरूपं च चीवरं चेतयित्वा एवंनामा
भिक्षुरूपसंक्रमिष्यति तमाच्छादयेथा चीवरेण काले कल्पितेनेति । अथ स दूतस्तं
वैय्यावृत्यकरं साधु च सुष्ठु च समनुयुज्य समनुशिष्य येन स भिक्षुस्तेन
संक्रामेत् । उपसंक्रम्य तं भिक्षुमेवं वदेत् योऽसाचार्येण वैय्यावृत्यकरो
व्यपदिष्टः समनुशिष्टः समयेन²⁶ तमुपसंक्रामेथा आच्छादयिष्यति स सत्वां²⁷
चीवरेण काले कल्पितेनेति । चीवरार्थिकेन भिक्षुणा वैय्यावृत्यकर उप-
संक्रम्य द्विस्त्रिंशोदयितव्यः स्मारयितव्यो²⁸ऽर्थिकोऽस्यायुष्मन् वैय्यावृत्यकर
चीवरेणार्थिकोऽस्यायुष्यन् वैय्यावृत्यकर चीवरेणेति । द्विस्त्रिंशो-
दयतः स्मारयतः²⁹ सचेत्तच्चीवरमभिनिष्पद्यते इत्येवं कुशलं नो चेदभि-
निष्पद्येत चतुर्ष्वपट्टकृत्वः परं तूष्णीमुद्देशे स्थातव्यं, चतुर्ष्वपट्टकृत्वा
परं तूष्णीमुद्देशे स्थितस्य सचेत्तच्चीवरमभिनिष्पद्येत इत्येवं कुशलं, नो चेद-
भिनिष्पद्येत न उत्तरि ध्यायच्छेच्चीवरस्याभिनिवर्तये, अभिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे
नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका । नो चेदभिनिष्पद्येत यस्या दिशस्तानि चीवरचेतनकान्या-
नीतानि तत्र स्वयं वा गन्तव्यमासो वा दूतोऽनुप्रेषितव्यः यानि तान्यायुष्मद्भि-
रेवंनामानं भिक्षुमुद्दिश्य चीवरचेतनकान्यानुप्रेषितानि न तानि तस्य भिक्षोः
कंचिदर्थं स्फुरन्ति प्रजानत्वायुष्मन्तः स्वमर्थं मा वीर्थः प्रणश्यत्वित्ययं तत्र
समयः ।

११ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्नवं कौशेयसंस्तरं कारयेन्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१२ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुः शुद्धकालकानामेडकरोऽस्त्रां³⁰ नवं संस्तरं कारयेन्नैसर्गिक-
पायन्तिका ।

१३ । नवं भिक्षुणा संस्तरं कारयता द्वौ भागौ शुद्धकालकानामेडकरोऽस्त्रा-
मादातव्यौ तृतीयोऽवदातानां चतुर्थो गोचरिकाणां अनादाय³¹ चेद्भिक्षु द्वौ भागौ

26 Ms. समय ; Tib. dus-su.

27 Ms. सता ; Tib. des-khyod-la.

28 Ms. दारयितव्यः ; Tib. dran-par-byahlo.

29 Ms. दारयतः ; Tib. dran-par-byas-pa-na.

30 Ms. रोम्तां ; Tib. bal.

31 Ms. नादा ; Tib. bcug-par.

शुद्धकालकानामेडकरोम्यां तृतीयोऽवदातानां चतुर्थो गोचरिकाणां नवं संस्तरं कारयेन्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१४ । नवं भिक्षुणा संस्तरं कारयता अकामं षड्वर्षाणि कृत्वा धारयितव्यम् । अर्वाक् चेद्भिक्षुः षण्णां वर्षाणां तं पुराणसंस्तरं निसृज्य वा अनिसृज्य वा अन्यं नवं संस्तरं कारयेत् अन्यत्र संघसंमत्या^{३२} नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१५ । नवं [भिक्षु]^{३३}णा निषदनं कारयिता पुराणनिषदनसामन्तकात् सुगत-वितत्तिरादातव्या नवस्य दुर्वर्णीकरणाय । अनादाय चेद्भिक्षुः पुराणनिषदन-सामन्तकात् सुगतवितस्तिं नवस्य दुर्वर्णीकरणाय, नवं निषदनं परिभुञ्जीत नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१६ । भिक्षोः खल्वध्वप्रतिपन्नस्योत्पद्येरन्नेडकरोमण्याकांक्षता तेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिप्रहीतव्यानि प्रतिगृह्य यावत्त्रियोजनपरमं स्वयं हर्नध्यान्य[सति हारके]^{३४}, तत उत्तरि पारेन्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१७ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञातिकया भिक्षुण्या एडकरोमाणि धावयेद्रजयेद्विवटे-द्विवटापयेद्वा नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका ।

१८ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुः स्वहस्तं जातरूपरजतमुद्गृहीयादुद्ग्राहनसत्त्वा नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

१९ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्नानाप्रकारं रुपिकव्यवहारं समापयेत नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२० । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्नानाप्रकारं क्रयविक्रयं समापयेत नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२१ । दशाहपरमं भिक्षुणा अतिरेकपात्रं धारयितव्यं, तत उत्तरं परिधारयेन्नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२२ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरुनपंचवन्धनेन [पात्रेण]^{३५} पारिभोगिकेनान्यं नवं पात्रं पर्येषेत [कल्याण]^{३६}कामतामुपादायाभिनिष्पन्ने पात्रे नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका । तेन भिक्षुणा तत्पात्रं भिक्षुपर्षद्युपनि[ःसृष्टव्यं यः]^{३७} तस्यां भिक्षुपर्षदि पात्रपर्यन्तो भवति । तत्तस्य भिक्षोरनुप्रदातव्यमिदं ते भिक्षोः पात्रं वाधिष्ठातव्यं न विकारयितव्यं सचेन्मन्दं मन्दं परिभोक्तव्यं यावद्भेदनपर्यन्तमुपादाय इत्ययं तत्र समयः ।

32 Ms. ०संमत्या ; Tib. dge-ldun-gyis-gnaṅ-ba-ma-gtogs-te.

33 Tib. dge-sloṅ-gis.

34 Tib. khyer-ba-med-na.

35 Tib. lhuñ-bzed.

36 Tib. bzañ-po-ldod-paḥi-phyir. 37 Tib. dbul-bar-byaḥo.....gañ.

२३। यः पुनर्भिक्षुः स्वयं याचितेन सूत्रेणाज्ञातिना तन्तुवायेन चीवरं वायेयमिति निष्पन्ने चीवरे नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२४। भिक्षुं खलूद्दिश्याज्ञातिः गृहपतिर्वा गृहपतिपत्नी वाज्ञातितन्तु-
वायेन चीवरं वाययेत्तत्र चेत्स भिक्षुः पूर्वमप्रवारितः सन् कंचिदेव विकल्पमापद्य
तमज्ञातिं तन्तुवायमुपसंक्रम्यैव वदेत् । यत् खल्वायुष्मांस्तन्तुवाय जानीया
इदं चीवरमस्मान्नुद्दिश्य ऊयते साध्वायुष्मंस्तन्तुवाय इदं चीवरं सु[विस्त]^{३८}तं च
कुरु सुविलिखितं च सुवितक्षितं च स्वाकोटितं चाप्येव त्रयमायुष्मते तन्तुवायाय
कांविदेव मात्रामुपसंपारिभ्यामो यदुत पिण्डपातं वा पिण्डपातमात्रं वा पिण्ड-
पातसंबलं वा चीवरस्याभिनिष्पत्तये, अभिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे नैसर्गिका
पायन्तिका ।

२५। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षोश्चीवरं दत्त्वा ततः पश्चादभिषिक्तः कुपितश्चण्डी-
भूतो नात्ममना आच्छिन्द्यादाश्छेदयेद्वा एव चैनं [वदेत् आनय ।]^{३९} भिक्षो
चीवरं न ते [भूयो]^{४०} ददामीति । तेन भिक्षुणा तच्चीवरं तच्च शेषमुपनिःसृष्ट्व्यं
भुक्तस्य च नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२६। दशाहमागतायां कार्तिश्यां पौर्णमास्यां भिक्षोरुत्पद्येतात्ययकचीवर-
माकांक्षता तेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिग्रहीतव्यं प्रतिगृह्य यावच्चीवरदानकालसमयाद्धार-
यितव्यं तत उत्तरं धारयेन्नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

२७। भिक्षवः खलु संवहुलाः आरण्यकेषु शयनासनेषु न वर्षका भवन्ति,
साशङ्कसंमतेषु [नानाभ]य^{४१} संमतेषु सप्रतिभयभैरवसंमतेषु आकांक्षता आरण्य-
केन भिक्षुणा त्रयाणां चीवराणामन्यतमान्यतमचीवरमन्तर्गृहे उपनिक्षिप्तव्यं
स्यात् खल्वारण्यकस्य भिक्षोस्तद्रूपप्रत्ययो वहिः सीमां ग[न्तुं पट्टा]त्^{४२}परम-
मारण्यकेन भिक्षुणा तस्माच्चीवराद्बहिः सीमां विप्रवस्तव्यं तत उत्तरि विप्रवसे-
न्नैसर्गिकापायन्तिका ।

२८। मास्यः शेषो ग्रीष्माणां भिक्षुणा वर्षाशाटीचीवरं पथेपितव्यमर्ध-
मासावशिष्टा^{४३} कृत्वा धारयितव्यम् । अर्वाक् चेद्भिक्षुः मास्यः शेषो ग्रीष्माणां
वर्षाशाटीचीवरं पथेपेत, ऊर्ध्वमर्धमासावशिष्टावर्षाः कृत्वा धारयेन्नैसर्गिका
पायन्तिका ।

38 Tib. zhen-che-ba.

39 Tib. byin-cig-ces-zer-na.

40 Tib. phyir.

41 Tib. hjiḡs-pa-tha-dad-pas.

42 Tib. ḡgro-dgos-pa.....zhag-drug-gi-mthah-tshun-cad-du.

43 ऊर्द्ध्वं ; Tib. zla-ba-phyed-kyi-bar-du.

२९। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सांघिकं लाभं परिणतः। आत्मनः पौद्गलिकं परिणामयेन्नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

३०। यानि तानि भगवता ग्लानानां भिक्षुणां सांप्रेयाणि प्रतिसेवनीयानि भैषज्यान्याख्यातानि, तद्यथा—सर्पिस्तैलं मधु फाणितं तान्याकांक्षता ग्लानेन भिक्षुणा सप्ताह⁴⁴ परमं स्वयमधिष्ठाय सन्निधिकारपरि[भो]⁴⁵गेन परिभोक्तव्यानि, तत उत्तरि परिभुंजीत नैसर्गिका पायन्तिका ।

उद्दिष्टा मे आयुष्मन्तस्त्रिंशन्नैसर्गिकपायन्तिका धर्माः । तत्राहमायुष्मन्तः परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कश्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

[नवतिः पायन्तिका धर्माः ।]⁴⁶

इमे खल्वायुष्मन्तः नवतिः पायन्तिका धर्मा [अन्व]⁴⁷र्धमासं प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

१. संप्रजानन्मृषावादात्पायन्तिका ।

२. ऊनमनुष्यवादात्पायन्तिका ।

३. भिक्षुपैशुन्यात्पायन्तिका ।

४. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् समग्रेण संघेन यथाधर्ममधिकरणमुपनिक्षिप्तं पुनः कर्मणः खोटयेत्पायन्तिका ।

५. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मातृग्रामस्योत्तरि षट्पंचिकया वाचा धर्मं देशयेद् [अन्यत्र विज्ञपु]⁴⁸त्पायन्तिका ।

६. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसंपन्नाय पुद्गलाय पदशो धर्मं वाचयेत्पायन्तिका ।

७. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसंपन्नाय पुद्गलाय दुष्कुलापत्तिमारोचयेदन्यत्र संघ-संमत्या⁴⁹ पायन्तिका ।

८. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसंपन्नाय⁵⁰ पुद्गलायोत्तरं मनुष्यधर्ममात्रं च धेद्वृत्ता-त्पायन्तिका ।

44 Ms. सन्तापा० ; Tib. zhag-bdun-bar.

45 Tib. yōns-loṅs-spyod-pas.

46 Tib. ltuñ-byed-kyi-chos-dgu-bcu.

47 Tib. zla-ba-phyed-phyed-ciñ.

48 Tib. rig-paḥi-skyes-pa-na-gtogs-te.

49 Ms. •संवृत्त्या ; Tib. dge-ḥdun-gyis-gnañ-ba.

50 Ms. भिक्षुननुप० ; Tib. bsñen-par-ma-rdsogs-pa.

६. यः पुनर्भिक्षुः पूर्वं समनुज्ञो^{५१} भूत्वा ततः पश्चादेवं वदेद् [यथा]^{५२} संस्तुतिकयायुष्मन्तः सांघिकं लाभं परिणतमात्मानः पौद्गलिकं परिणामयन्तीति पायन्तिका ।

१०. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशे उद्दिश्यमाने एवं वदेत् किं पुनरेभिरायुष्मन्तः श्रुद्रानुश्रुद्रैः शिक्षापदैः अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशैरच्चार्यमानै^{५३}र्यानि भिक्षूणां कौकृत्याय संवर्तन्ते आलेखाय विलेखाय विलेढाय विप्रतिसारायेति शिक्षा[पद]^{५४}विलंघ^{५५}नात्पायन्तिका ।

११. बीजग्रामभूतग्रामपातनपातापनात्पायन्तिका ।

१२. अवध्यानक्षिण्णाद्यायन्तिका ।

१३. आज्ञाविहेठनात्पायन्तिका ।

१४. यः पुनर्भिक्षुः सांघिकं मंचं वा पीठं वा वृषिको वा विंबोपधानचतुरश्रकं वा अभ्यवकाशे उपनिक्षिप्योपरिक्षिप्य वा अनुद्धृतानुद्धृत्य वा ततो विप्रकामेत्सन्तं भिक्षुगृहलोहयान्यत्र तद्रूपात् [प्रत्ययात्]^{५६} पायन्तिका ।

१५. यः पुनर्भिक्षुः सांघिके विहारे तृणसंस्तरं वा पर्णसंस्तरं वा संस्तीर्य संस्तार्य वा अनुद्धृत्यानुद्धार्य वा ततो विप्रकामेत्सन्तं भिक्षुमनवलोक्यान्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायन्तिका ।

१६. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरभिषक्तः कुपितश्चण्डीभूतो नात्तमना सांघिकाद्विहाराद्विक्षुं निर्ष्कर्षेन्निकर्षापयेद्वा अन्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायन्तिका ।

१७. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सांघिके विहारे पूर्वोपगतानां भिक्षूणां ततः पश्चादगत्यानुप्रस्कन्द्यासने निषद्यां शय्यां वा कल्पयेत्—यस्य संवाधो भविष्यति स विप्रक्रमिष्यतीति इत्येवं प्रत्ययं कृत्वा पायन्तिका ।

१८. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सांघिके विहारे उपरि विहायसि कृतायां कुटिकायामाहार्यपादके मञ्चे वा पीठे वा सहसा बलेनाभिपदेद्वाभिनिपद्येत वा पायन्तिका ।

१९. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सप्राणकेनोदकेन तृणं वा गोमयं वा मृत्तिकां वा सिञ्चेत् सिञ्चयेद्वा पायन्तिका ।

51 Ms. सपरत्ने ; Tib. legs-par-ruñ-bar-byas-nas.

52 Tib. ḥdi-ltar-shes-por-bya-ste.

53 Ms. प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देश उच्चार्या ; Tib. So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo-gdon-pa-bton-pa-dag-gis.

54 Tib. bslab-pa-khyad-du.

55 Ms. विलण्डन ; Tib. gsod-na,

56 Tib. rkyen.

२०. महान्तं भिक्षुणा विहारं कारयित्वा यावद्धारकोशार्गलस्थानादालोक-
संज्ञिना भूमिपरिकर्मोपादाय द्वौ वा त्रयो वा छेदनपर्यायाः सहरिताः अधिष्ठा-
तव्याः तत उत्तरि अधितिष्ठेत्पायन्तिका ।

२१. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरसंमतः संघेन भिक्षुणीरववदेत् तद्रूपधर्मसमन्वागमा-
त्पायन्तिका ।

२२. संमतश्चापि भिक्षुः संघेन यावत्सूर्यास्तगमनकालसमयात्पायन्तिका ।

२३. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुमेव वदेत् आमिषकिञ्चित्कहेतोर्भिक्षवो भिक्षुणीर-
वदन्तीति पायन्तिका ।

२४. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञानिकायै भिक्षुण्यै⁵⁷ चीवरं दद्यादन्यत्र परिवर्तका-
त्पायन्तिका ।

२५. यः पुनर्भिक्षुरज्ञातिकाया भिक्षुण्याश्चीवरं कुर्यात्पायन्तिका ।

२६. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुणीसार्थेण सार्धमध्वानमार्गं प्रतिपद्येत अतो
ग्रामान्तरमपि पायन्तिका । तत्रायं समयः सार्थगमनीयो मार्गो भवति साशङ्क-
संमतः सभयसंमतः सप्रतिभयभैरवसंमतोयं तत्र समयः ।

२७. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुणीसार्थेण सार्धं संविधाय एकनावं अभिरोहेत्
ऊर्द्धगामिनीं वा अधोगामिनीं वान्यत्र तिर्यग्पारसन्तरणात्पायन्तिका ।

२८. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मातृगामेन सार्धमेक एकया रहसि प्रतिच्छन्ने आसने
निपत्यां कल्पयेत्पायन्तिका ।

२९. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुण्या सार्धमेक एकिकया रहसि प्रतिच्छन्ने तिष्ठे-
त्पायन्तिका ।

३०. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् भिक्षुणीपरिपाचितं पिण्डपातं परिभुञ्जीतान्यत्र
पूर्वं गृहिसमारंभात्पायन्तिका ।

३१. परंपरभोजनादन्यत्र समयात्पायन्तिका । तत्रायं समयो ग्लानसमयः
कर्मसमयः [अध्वानमार्ग]⁵⁸ समयः चीवरदानकालसमयः ।

३२. एकावसथोषितेन भिक्षुणा अग्लानेनैकपिण्डपातः परिभोक्तव्यः ततः
उत्तरि परिभुञ्जीत पायन्तिका ।

३३. भिक्षवः खलु संबहुलाः [कुलानि]⁶⁰ संक्रामयेयुस्तांश्चेच्छ्राद्धा ब्राह्मण-
गृहपतयस्त्वर्थं प्रवारयेयुर्मण्डैश्चापूपैश्चाकांक्षिभिस्तैर्भिक्षुभिर्द्वौ त्रयो वा पात्र-
पूराः प्रतिग्रहीतव्याः तत उत्तरि [प्रति]⁶¹ गृह्णीयुः पायन्तिका । द्वौ त्रीन्वा

57 Ms. अज्ञातिकाया भिक्षुण्याः ।

58 Tib. omits.

59 Tib. lam-dus-so.

60 Tib. khyim-rnams-su.

61 Tib. len-na.

पात्रपूरान्प्रतिगृह्य तैर्भिक्षुभिर्बहिरारामं गत्वा सन्तो भिक्षवः संविभक्तव्या
आत्मना च परिभक्तव्यमद्यं तत्र समयः ।

३४. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भुक्तवान्प्रवारितः अकृतातिरिक्तं खादनीयभोजनीयं
खादेद्भुञ्जीत वा पायन्तिका ।

३५. यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् भिक्षुं भुक्तवन्तं प्रवारितं अकृतातिरिक्ते
खा[दनीय]⁶² भोजनीयेनेत्यर्थं प्रवारयदिदमायुष्मन् खाद इदं भुङ्क्व इत्याखादन-
प्रेक्षी कश्चिदेष भिक्षुराखादितो भविष्यति इत्येतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा पायन्तिका ।

३६. गण[भोजना]⁶³दन्यत्र समयात्पायन्तिका । तत्रायं समयः ग्लान-
समयः कर्मसमयः [अध्वानमार्ग]⁶⁴समयो नावाधिरोहणं महासमाजः श्रमण-
भक्त⁶⁵समयोयं तत्र समयः ।

३७. यः [पुनर्भिक्षु]⁶⁶रकाले खादनीयभोजनीयं खादेद्भुञ्जीत वा पायन्तिका ।
(To be continued)

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

62 Tib. bcañ-da-dañ-bzañ-ba.

63 Tib. ḥdus-shiñ-za-na.

64 Tib. lam-dus-so.

65 Tib. reads dge-sloñ-gi-zas-dus-te (= भिक्षुभक्तसमय)

66 Tib. yañ-dge-sloñ.

Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa*

169. RANKU = Belonging to the Ranku Deer.
 AK. 126. रमते रम्यते वा रङ्कुः ।
 Ayo—xiii (6b), xxx (14b), xxxii (8a), lxii (19a).
 Ara—1 (15b).
170. RĀSABHA = Donkey. Ass. .
 AK. 152/217. रासते रासभः, रास्य शब्दे ।
 Ayo—lxxi (15a, 19a), lxxii (25b).
171. RURU = Big black spotted deer.
 AK. 86/126. रौत्ति रुः ।
 लो द्वीः रुम्मुर्गविशेषः ।
 Ayo—cxiv (33b).
 Ara—lxxviii (13b).
172. ROHITA = Deer with stripes.
 AK. 27/126. रोहिते, रौहितः, रक्तत्वात् ।
 Ara—lxxviii (9a).
173. VANJULAKA also VANJULA = A sort of bird.
 Ara—lxxvi (13a), lxxx (23a).
 Kis—xiii (8a).
174. VADAVĀ = A female horse.
 AK. 129/185. वडं बलं हयं वा वाति वडवा ।
 लो-टी । वडवा अश्वा ।

* Continued from p. 128 of vol. XXIX, No. 2.

169 *RV.*, x. 68. 8; *AV.*, xi. 2. 25; *Vāja. Sam.* xxiv. 21. 34; *Sata. Brā.*, 1. 8. 1. 1.; *Kaus. Up.*, 1. 2; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 9. 5; *Tait. Sam.*, ii. 6. 6. 1; *Chan. Up.*, i. 4. 3; *Bṛhad. Upa.*, iv. 3. 18.

170 *RV.*, i. 34. 9; viii. 85. 7; *Tait. Brā.*, v. 1. 5. 7; *Sata. Brā.*, vi. 1. 1. 11; *Kaus. Brā.*, xviii. 1. Geldner, *Rigveda Glossar*, 149, suggests *mule* as possible sense in *RV.*, iii. 53. 5.

171 *Tait. Sam.*, v. 5. 19; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv. 27. 39; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 14. 9; *RV.*, vi. 75. 15; Mohenjo. (Marshall)—SD. 2608.

172 *Red-horse*: *RV.*, i. 94. 10; *Tait. Sam.*, 1. 6. 4. 3; *AV.*, xiii. 1. 1. *Pañc. Brā.*, xiv. 3. 12.

In some passages of *RV.* (1, 14, 12 etc.) it denotes a 'red mare'.

'Red doe'—in *Tait. Sam.*, vi. 1. 6. 5; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 14. 11, 18; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv. 30. 37; *AV.*, iv. 4. 7; *At. Brā.*, ii. 33. 1.

Ayo—lxvii (23b).

Kis—xl (49b, 50b).

Yud—ix (3b).

175. VANAUKAS = Animal, living in forest, e.g., Ape.

AK. 125. वने ओकोऽस्येति वनौकाः ।

Kis—i (16a), xvii (50a), xviii (16b), xxi (5a, 38b), xxxvii (29a), xli (9b, 25b, 72b, 74a), xlii (16a), xliii (18b, 20b), xlv (8a), xlix (7b), l (13a, 19b), li (31b), liii (2a), liv (8b, 24c), lxii (30b).

Sun—i (84a), iii (8b), xvi (52b), xxx (19b), xxxi (42b, 48b, 71b), liv (22a), lxx (20a).

Yud—i (44a), ii (13a, 43b), iii (1a), x (35b), xvi (23b, 98a), xvii (32a), xxi (1a, 16a), xxvi (5a, 24b, 40b), xxvii (2a, 19b), xxviii (22a), xxx (34b), xxxa 31b), xxxb (5b), xxxi (8b, 45a), xxxii (15c, 20b), xxxvii (99b), xlv (11b), xlvi (93b), xlix (80a), lviii (3b), lix (7a), lxi (3b, 19a), lxii (1a), lxvi (10a), lxx (8b), lxxi (3a), lxxiii (34a), lxxvii (6a), c (36b, 38a) cviii (3a), cxii (20a), cxiii (61b).

176. VARĀHA = Boar, pig.

AK. 84/124. वरमाहन्ति वराहः ।

AS. 125. वरमाहन्तीति वराहः ।

Adi—xxvii (13b).

Ayo—xiii (7a), xxv (33a), xxvii (11b), xxviii (11b), xxix (4a), lii (27b), c (67a), cxi (48a).

Ara—xv (4b), xxxiv (32b).

Kis—i (13a), xliii (31b).

Sun—xv (40a), xviii (29a).

Yud—xv (18a), xxxvii (31a, 78b), lxxx (69b), ciii (13b).

Utt—vi (45b), xxxvi (39b).

177. VĀJIN = Horse.

AK. 89/184. वजति तच्छ्रोलो वाजी, वजाः पक्षा अभूवन्नस्येति वा ।

176 RV., i. 61. 7; viii. 77. 10; ix. 97. 7; AV., viii. 7. 23; xii. 1. 48; Kāth. Sam., viii. 2; xxv. 2; Mait. Sam., iii. 14. 19; Tait. Sam., vi. 2. 4, 2; Tait. Aran., 9. 4. Mohenjo (Mck.) DK. 9452 1; Mohenjo (Mar.) C. 3314; Har. (Vats) 163 (III) 2390 (IV);

177 RV., ii. 5. 1; ii. 10. 1; ii. 34. 7; iii. 53. 23; vi. 75. 6; x. 103. 10.

AS. 247. वज्रलयेनेति वाजः । 'वज्रं ब्रजं गतौ' । घञ् । वाजः ।
तद्योगाद् वाजो ।

Adi—vi (2b), xi (11b), xvi (1a), lv (12a).

Ayo—xii (34a), xiii (23a), xx (41b), xxxviii (10a), xxxix
(25c), lxxiii (23a), lxxxix (9b), xci (15a, 17a, 20b),
c (7a, 31a, 75a), ci (15b, 34a, 39a, 42a), cv (59a),
cvii (18b).

Ara—ix (5a, 10a), xx (29a), xxxiii (27a), xl (29b).

Sun—xxvii (20a), xli (3b), xlii (4b, 18a), xliii (16b),
xlviii (4a, 33a), lix (16a), lxxxii (24a, 32a).

Yud—ix (23a), xi (43b), xix (48a), xxviii (14a), xxix (9a),
xxx (23a), xlix (37a, 75a), l (4a), lii (11a), lxvi (14b),
lxxiv (23b, 34b), lxxv (1a), lxxviii (13c), xc (15a,
20a), xci (2a), xcii (16a), xciii (7a).

Utt—xix (10a), xlii (28b), xlix (4a), lxx (21a), c (1a),
cvi (8a).

178. VĀNARA=Monkey. Ape.

AK. 84/125. वने रमते वनरस्तस्यायं वानरः, पक्षे नरो वा ।

AS. 216. नर इव वानरः । वा शब्द इवार्थे ।

Adi—i (64b, 66b, 67b, 69a, 71a, 72a, 73a, 77a), iii
(17a, 69a, 70a, 72a, 104a, 111a, 133a), iv (26b),
xx (6a, 8b, 9b, 10b, 12b, 18a, 21b).

Ayo—liv (30a), civ (19b), cv (24b, 26a).

Ara—xx (26a), lxi (5b, 8c), lxiv (11b), lxxvii (68a, 69b,
71a, 72a, 74a, 79a).

Kis—i (3b, 3b), ii (2a, 3a, 20a, 21b, 22b), iii (2a, 6b,
14b, 20b, 23a, 28b), iv (12b), v (13b, 23a, 27b,
30a), vi (2a, 8a, 23a), vii (1a), viii (15b, 31b, 34a),
ix (7a, 23a, 67a, 69b, 71ab, 77a, 97b), x (5a, 9a,
12a, 14a, 16a, 30a, 31a, 34a), xi (2a, 6a), xii (17a,
41b, 50a), xiii (4a, 33a, 34a), xiv (6a, 13a, 23a),
xvi (3a, 36b), xvii (5a, 7a, 15b, 19a, 21b, 25b, 32b,
39a), xviii (1a, 7a, 9a, 12a, 15a, 21a, 30b), xix (4b,
6b, 14b, 16b, 17b), xx (1b, 8a, 11a), xxii (3a, 4b),
xxiv (17a, 21b, 24b, 28a, 30b, 31a, 35a, 34a, 40b),
xxv (4b, 7b, 17a, 18a, 21a, 27a, 31a, 35a, 36a),
xxvi (1a, 2b), xxvii (17b, 22a), xxviii (32a), xxx (7b,

9a, 20b, 23a), xxxi (2ab, 16b, 24b, 27a, 31a, 35b), xxxii (9b, 16a), xxxiii (7a), xxxiv (5b, 19a, 20a, 27b, 32a), xxxv (13b, 29b), xxxvi (3b, 4a, 14b), xxxvii (6a, 7b, 10ab, 12a, 16a, 17ab, 19b, 23a, 24b, 26b, 27b, 30a, 33b, 34a, 35ab, 36a, 37b, 38a), xxxviii (1b, 10a, 26ab, 28a, 31b, 34b, 39b, 40b, 42a, 45a, 51b, 53ab, 55a, 56b), xxxix (14a, 15b, 17ab, 22a, 24a, 25b, 30a, 33ab, 34a, 36b, 38a, 41a, 42a, 43b), xl (1a, 3a, 4a, 12a, 15b, 16a, 17a, 27b, 36b, 47a, 48a, 58a, 67a), xli (1b, 23b, 24b, 38b, 43b, 46b), xlii (15c), xliii (4a, 8b, 24b, 25b, 27a, 52ab, 57b, 58a, 62a), xliv (1b, 2a, 3a, 5b, 6a, 18b, 27b, 58a, 115b, 125a), xlv (3b, 15a, 16a), xlvi (1a, 12a), xlvii (2a, 9b), xlviii (4b, 15b, 16a, 18a), xlix (22a, 27a), l (9b, 10a, 14a, 15b, 16b, 20a, 27b), li (8b, 21b, 35b), lii (2b, 17b, 27a, 31ab, 32b, 44b, 45b, 46a), liii (4b, 6b, 9a, 12ab, 22b, 23a, 25a, 27b), liv (1a, 7b, 9a, 16b, 23b, 24c), lv (6b), lvi (11b, 17a), lvii (5ab, 7b, 14c, 15b), lviii (22a), lvi (4a, 5a, 18ab), lix (1ab, 8a, 15b, 16a, 27b, 32a, 34a, 39b), lx (7b), lxii (23a, 53b), lxiii (13b, 22a), lxiv (7a, 8b, 9a, 10a, 12a, 19b, 22b, 23b, 25a, 26a).

Sun—i (3a, 12b, 13a, 16a, 19b, 29a, 42a, 44b, 60a, 62b, 64a, 67a, 68b, 76a, 86b, 89b, 90a, 93ab, 95a), ii (2a, 4ac, 7b, 8ab, 42b, 47a), iii (2a, 28a, 32b, 53a, 54b, 60a, 69a, 74a, 75a, 80b), iv (1a, 2b, 3a), v (10a, 14a, 29a, 35b), vi (9a, 15a, 25b), vii (2a, 29a), viii (3b, 11a, 13b, 15a, 18b, 19a, 21ab), ix (24b, 28a, 60b), xii (19a), xiv (9b), xv (12a), xvi (2a, 11b, 23a, 49b), xvii (5a, 11b), xviii (21b, 26a, 68a), xix (10b), xx (22b), xxvii (18a), xxix (27a), xxx (13b), xxxi (28a, 37b, 41a, 46b, 47a, 59b, 61b, 62a), xxxii (1a, 2b, 21a, 50b), xxxiii (5a, 9b, 12a, 23a, 45b), xxxiv (4b), xxxv (4a, 16b, 30b, 43a), xxxvii (12b, 28b), xxxviii (5b, 36a, 46b, 47a), xxxix (5b, 8b), xlii

(1a, 7a, 25b, 32a, 35b, 37b), xlv (1a, 21a), xlvii (5b, 7b, 8a), xlviii (29b, 34a), xlix (11a), l (24a, 32b), li (15b), liv (4a, 17a, 18a), lvi (5a, 10b, 18b, 20a, 28a, 33b, 36a), lvii (8a, 34a, 98a, 100b), lix (1b, 21b), lx (5b, 8b, 15b, 16a), lxi (3b, 4a, 19b), lxii (8a, 9a, 11a, 13a, 17b), lxiii (1a, 2a, 3a, 5a, 7b), lxiv (1a, 3b, 5b, 7ab, 9a, 14a, 15a, 18b, 19a, 21b, 23a, 26a), lxv (2b, 12a, 14a, 15b, 19a, 23b), lxvi (1a, 14b), lxvii (4a, 5b, 34a), lxix (1a), lxx (7b, 16a, 25b), lxxii (10a), lxxiii (17b), lxxiv (2b, 18b, 25ab, 26b, 29a, 30b, 31a, 32a, 39b, 42a, 43a, 44a, 47a, 63b, 64a, 65b), lxxv (1b, 6b, 7b, 18b, 21b, 25a, 26a), lxxvi (2a), lxxix (4b, 18a), lxxx (24b), lxxxii (2b, 4b, 10a, 11a), lxxxiii (24b, 26b), lxxxiv (9a, 50b), lxxxv (20b), lxxxvi (3b, 4ab, 6b, 7a, 8b, 9a, 12a, 14a), xci (23b, 43b, 46ab, 47a, 52b, 53a), xciii (5b, 6b), xciv (2a, 3b), xcvi (15b, 20b), xcvi (3b, 5ab, 8a, 11b, 32b, 27a, 43a).

Yud—i (2a, 5a, 6b, 9b, 10a, 11a, 14a, 16a, 20a, 38b, 42b), ii (8a, 9a, 10a, 13b, 17b, 20a, 21b, 22b, 23b, 24b, 25a, 27c, 33a, 35b, 36a, 37b, 41a, 44b, 45a), iii (3b, 5a, 12b, 16b, 17b, 20a, 22ab, 26a, 28b, 29a, 30b, 36b, 41b, 44a, 45a), iv (28c, 44a, 45b, 49a, 56b, 57a, v (2b, 24b), vi (4a, 5b, 13c, 20a, 22c, 23a), vii (19b, 24c, 29a, 35b), ix (10a, 16a), x (34a), xi (2a, 5a, 6b), xii (9a, 12a, 13a), xiii (1a, 3b, 30a, 31b, 32a), xiv (14a, 22a), xv (13a, 27b), xvi (3b, 20b, 24a, 27b, 36ab, 39a, 43b, 44b, 45a, 47a, 49b, 50b, 53b, 89b), xvii (1b, 4a, 9b, 10a, 16b, 26b, 27b, 28b, 29b, 30a, 31b), xviii (1a, 3a, 6b, 7b, 12a, 18a, 21a, 22b, 34a, 42a, 47a, 51a, 55b), xix (1a, 3a, 17a, 29a, 52a, 74b), xx (1b, 7a), xxi (7b, 8a, 19a, 25b, 29b), xxii (2b, 24b), xxiv (2b, 39a, 42b), xxv (4b, 5a, 6b, 9a, 12b, 13a, 24a, 40c), xxvi (1a, 4b, 15b, 42c), xxvii (1a, 3a, 29b), xxviii (1b, 3ab, 4a, 6a, 10a,

14b, 17a, 18a, 19b, 26a), xxix (5b, 14a, 23a),
xxx (1a, 3a, 7a, 31b, 36b), xxxa (12a), xxxb (2b,
3b, 4b, 6b, 14a, 15b, 19b, 22a, 29b), xxxi (10a,
11a), xxxii (2a, 4b, 5a, 7a, 10b, 11a, 14a, 16a,
22b, 23a, 43a) xxxiii (5a, 44a, 46ab, 48ab),
xxxiv (3b, 10b, 11a), xxxv (4b), xxxvi (9b, 17b,
18a, 27b, 30b, 31b, 38a, 40b, 43a, 44b, 61a,
64a, 70b, 84a, 100a), xxxvii (17b, 88a, 89a),
xxxviii (4a, 6b, 32b, 33b, 34a, 37b, 38b), xxxix
(21b, 22ab, 29c, 30a), xl (45a, 47b), xli (12ac,
20b), xlii (10b), xliii (27a), xliv (17a, 38a, 39a),
xlv (3b, 6b, 8a, 9a, 16a, 17a, 19a, 20a, 21a,
22a, 23b, 25b, 26ab, 27b, 35a), xlvi (3a, 4b,
6a, 11a, 13b, 14b, 23c, 26a, 29ab, 31a, 32a, 33b,
36b, 37b, 38a, 39b, 43a, 46a, 53a, 54a, 57a,
61b, 62a, 63b, 65b, 75a, 76a, 77a, 78b, 81a,
85b, 108b, 110a, 111a, 116a, 118b, 119a, 122b,
134b, 139a), xlix (31a, 34b, 42a, 43a, 44ab,
45b, 46b, 47a, 48b, 49c, 52b, 53a, 55b, 57b,
58b, 59a, 62b), l (17a, 36b, 37b, 51a, 52a, 53a,
54a), li (6b, 7b, 8a, 10b, 23b, 54b), lii
(30a, 32a, 33b, 35a, 46b, 40b, 43a, 45b, 48a,
51a), liii (6a, 8b, 9a, 13a, 14a, 20b, 30b, 32a,
36a, 64a, 65a), liv (1a, 5b, 30a, 35a, 40a, 42a,
54b, 62ab, 63b, 64a), lv (9b, 16a), lvi (5b, 15a,
23b, 24a, 29a, 31a, 36a, 53a, 54a, 55a, 60b,
80a, 81b), lvii (3a), lviii (14b, 15a), lix (1a, 6a,
8a, 14a), lx (2a, 4b, 7b, 9a, 8b, 10b, 11a, 15a,
16c, 18b, 20c, 21a, 22a, 23b, 24b), lxi (1a, 4b,
5a, 10b, 11a, 22a), lxii (1b, 6a, 7a, 8b, 14a, 15a,
17b, 18b, 19a, 22a, 25b), lxiii (4b, 5b, 12a),
lxiv (3b, 15b), lxv (28a), lxvi (9a, 11a, 16b).
lxviii (4c), lxx (7a, 16b, 20b, 21b, 44a, 45a),
lxxi (29a, 43a, 45b, 47a, 58a), lxxii (3b, 20b, 21a,
22a, 24b), lxxiv (8b, 9b, 10a, 11a, 13b, 15a,
16b), lxxvi (15a, 19b, 41b, 43a, 44b, 45b, 46b,
47b, 48a, 49b, 51b, 52a, 53b, 54a, 55a, 58b,

65b), lxxvii (2a, 8a, 11b, 18a, 19a, 23b, 30b, 41a, 43a), lxxviii (3a, 7a, 8a, 30a), lxxix (3b, 4b, 5a, 7b), lxxx (11a, 29b, 41a), lxxxi (22b), lxxxii (17a, 20a), lxxxiii (17b, 44b, 53a, 54b, 75a, 77a, 79a, 98ab, 105b, 107b, 120b, 135a, 142b, 143a, 148a, 171b, 172c), lxxxiv (2b, 4ab, 8a, 13b, 19b), lxxxv (1b, 5b, 16a, 23a, 35b), lxxxvi (5a), lxxxvii (38a), lxxxix (33a), xcii (5a, 19b), xciii (61a, 62a, 71a), xciv (5ab, 9b), xcv (25a), xcvi (6b, 13a), xcvii (2a), xcviii (2b, 38b), c (14a, 15b, 24a), ci (11c, 21a), cii (14a, 34b), cvi (5b, 9b, 14b, 21b, 23a), cvii (14b), cviii (8a, 9a, 11a, 12a, 20b), cix (9b, 10a, 28a, 47a), cx (15b, 19b), cxi (41a, 42a), cxii (20b, 24a, 34a, 48b), cxiii (17b, 28a, 39b, 40b, 41a, 54a, 55c, 58a, 61a, 62b, 60a, 75b, 87c, 90a, 92a, 93b, 104a).

Utt—xvi (16b), xxiii (4a, 7b, 30a, 34a, 37a, 39a, 43a), xxxviii (50b, 61a, 63b), xl (7b, 11b, 12a), xli (17a), xlii (53a, 54b), xliii (13a, 21a), xliv (1a), xlvi (15b), xcviii (9a, 13b), xcix (7a, 11b), cii (7a), ciii (6a), cvi (5a, 11b), cxiii (36a, 38a, 40a, 44a, 46a, 47a), cxiv (18a), cxv (20a, 26a).

179 VĀNARI = Female ape.

Adi—xx (12b).

Kis—xxiv (29a).

Sun—i (14a), ii (14b).

Yud—ii (25b), li (66a), lxxvi (68a).

180 VĀYASA = A crow.

AK. 87/128. वय एव वायसः, प्रज्ञादित्वादण् (५।४।३८/२१०६),
वयते बा ।

Ayo—xci (18a), cv (55a).

Ara—liv (64a), lxxxi (23b).

Kis—xix (20a).

Sun—xxxvi (41a), lxvii (29a), lxix (2b, 5a, 8a, 9a, 12b),
lxxviii (19a).

Yud—lix (29a), lxxvi (38b), xcv (5b), cxiii (8a).

Utt—xviii (5a, 31a).

181 VĀRAṆA = Elephant

AK. 127/183. वारयत्यरीन्वारणः ।

Ayo—xxviii (11b), xlvii (3b), lxv (21b), cii (6a, 10b),
cviii (40a).

Kis—xxix (13a), xl (16a), xlvi (12a).

Sun—lvi (28a), lxxiv (8b, 33b), xcvi (11b).

Yud—xxxvi (27a), xlix (48a), l (2a, 13b).

Utt—vi (44a).

182 VIŚĀLĀKṢA = A screech-owl.

Utt—xxxi (22a).

183 VIHAGA = Sky-goer, a bird.

AK. 89/131. विहायसा गच्छति विहगः ।

Ayo—xlix (2b), lii (30a), lvi (16a), lxx (13a), cv (12a,
44a).

Ara—xvi (6b), xxix (13a), lvii (55c), lxxviii (26b), lxxx
(3b, 24a, 25b), lxxxi (9a, 43b, 47a).

Kis—xliv (36b).

Sun—iii (59b), ix (8b), xiv (15a, 24a), xvii (7a, 8a,
11b, 32b), xviii (18b), xx (9b, 11a), lxix (9a), xcvi
(14a).

Yud—xi (39b), xv (17a), lxxxiv (24b), lxxxix (27b).

184 VIHAMGA = Bird.

AS. 247. “विहायस्ये विह च” इति खचो ङित्वम् । विहङ्गः ।

Ayo—cv (13a, 40b), cxxv (4a).

Ara—lxxv (2a, 19a, 30a).

Kis—xxix (22b).

Sun—iv (13b), xi (17b), xii (21ā), xiii (1b, 11b), xvii
(40a), xxi (14a), xxxv (29b), xxxviii (29b).

Yud—xv (10a), xxxvii (41b), xliv (43b).

Utt—vi (45a), xviii (22b, 32a), xx (28b).

181 RV., viii. 33. 8; x. 40. 4; AV., v. 14, 11 (Vāraṇi).

182 Tait. Sam., ii, 1, 8, 3.

183 Tait. Sam., vii, 1, 1, 2; Tait. Brā., i, 8, 6, 3; Sat. Brā., vi, 5, 2, 19.

185. VRKA = Wolf, jackal.

AK. 126. ईहां वकते—ईहा वृक एवैकदेशेन वृक इत्युक्तः ।

Ayo—cvi (29d).

Yud—xxvii (28a)

186. VRŚCIKA = Scorpion.

AK. 86/127. वृश्चति वृश्चिकः ।

Ayo—xxv (32a), xxviii (9a).

Utt—xxviii (39b).

187. VRṢA = Bull.

AK. 72/107. वर्षति मधु वृषः ।

Adi—iii (130a), xxxviii (9b).

Ayo—lxi (14a).

Sun—xi (3b), xv (27b), xc (8a).

Yud—xi (28b), cxiii (82b).

Utt—xxi (52a, 59a), xcvi (12ab).

188. VRṢABHA = Bull.

Adi—xlix (3a).

Ara—lxxvi (26a).

Ayo—xxv (36a), xlii (11b).

Sun—xxxv (26b), xci (7a).

189. VYĀGHRA = Tiger.

AK. 84/124. व्याजिघ्रन् हन्ति व्याघ्रः । चित्रकायः पञ्चशिखरश्च ।

AS. 214. व्याजिघ्रतीति व्याघ्रः ।

Adi—xxvii (14b), xli (20b), xliii (17b).

Ayo—ix (45b), xxix (4a), xlii (13a), xliii (9a), xlix (8b),

lii (8a, 20a, 27b), liv (33b), lviii (6b), lx (18a),

lxxii (24a), lxxiii (16b), lxxv (28a), lxxx (23a),

xcvi (5b), xcix (25a, 33a), ci (2a, 23a, 27a), cvi (2b),

185 RV., i. 42. 2; ii 29. 6; vii. 38. 7; AV., vii. 95. 2; xii. 1. 49; Kāth. Sam., xii. 10; Vāja. Sam., iv. 34 Mait. Sam., iii. 14. 4; Nirukta, v. 21.

186 RV., i. 191. 16; Śāṅk. Āra., xii, 27; AV., x. 4. 9. 15; xii. 1. 46.

187 RV., x. 146. 2 (vṛṣā rava—roaring like a bull); Tait. Brā., ii. 5, 5. 6.

188 RV., i. 94. 10; vi. 46. 4.

189 AV., iv. 3. 1; iv. 36. 6; vi. 38, 1; xii. 1. 49;...Tait. Sam. vi. 2. 5. 9; Mait. Sam., ii. 1. 9; Ait. Brā., vii. 5. 3; Chānd. Up., vi. 9, 3; Kāth. Sam. xvii. 2 Yāja Sam., xiv, 9; xix, 10; Sata. Brā., xii. 7. 1. 8. Nirukta, iii. 18. Harappa, J 55 (II), 3370 (iii) Seal 246. 248; Mohenjo (Mac) DK 977 (I)

10a), cviii (11a, 13a), cx (13b), cxi (6a, 24a, 48b),
cxii (18b), cxiv (6a), cxxiv (12b).

Ara—ix (24a), xx (26b), xxiv (21b), xliii (19a), l (20b),
liii (42a), lix (41a), lxxvii (38b), lxxx (11b).

Kis—i (13a), iii (5a), xliii (37a), lx (15a).

Sun—l (33b).

Yud—iii (39a), xix (61b), xxvii (27b), xxxii (33b), xxxv
(15b), xlvi (31b), lxviii (31c), lxxiii (49a), lxxiv (7b),
lxxx (68a), lxxxiv (19b, 25a), xcix (32a), cxiii (29b).

Utt—vi (45b), vii (20b), xxi (66a), lxiv (2a), lxxx (29b),
xc (24b), cvii (25a).

190. VYĀGHRĪ = Tigress.

Ayo—ix (33b).

Ara—liv (53a, 57a), lxiii (36b).

191. VYĀLA = Snake.

AK. 38/58. व्याह्नं हन्तुमुद्यमीस्यास्ति व्यालः, अइ उद्यमे ।

Ayo—cii (4b), cvi (5a).

Ara—i (14b, 34d), v (19b), vii (6a), xxi (1a), xxxvi (19a),
liv (25a), lvi (21b), lxxvi (6a).

Sun—xlii (36a), xlvi (6b).

Utt—xciv (15a).

192. VYĀLĪ = सर्प

Ayo—ix (39b), xxxiv (9a), lxxv (17b).

Sun—xxvi (2b).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

MISCELLANY

“Kauṭilya on Royal Authority”

I have carefully considered Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's rejoinder (*IIIQ.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 175-79) to my criticism (*ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 307-11) of his view on the above subject. But I see no reason for changing my opinion on the important issues arising from this discussion.

Prof. Sastri admits that his line of thought was suggested to him by the excellent work of Breloer called *Kauṭilya-Studien* and the masterly survey of social and economic history of the Hellenistic world by Rostovtzeff. Elsewhere (*Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 196-97), however, Prof. Sastri has warned us against accepting some of Breloer's basic conclusions. Such is the statement that the theory of State-landlordism was introduced into India for the first time in the Maurya epoch, and was borrowed from Ptolemaic Egypt. The exaggerated tendency to detect Western influence upon ancient Indian civilisation which vitiates the above statement is reflected with much greater emphasis in a passage of Rostovtzeff's work which Prof. Sastri quotes with approval (*Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 198, *IIIQ.*, vol. XXIX, p. 179). “If one believes” says this author, “in the historical character and early date of the kernel of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and in the radical centralization of Indian government effected by Candragupta on Hellenistic lines, one may say that Candragupta did more to Hellenise India than Demetrius or Menander”. It is surprising that this judgment which is excusable in a classical scholar having no first-hand knowledge of his Indian sources should be endorsed by a specialist like Prof. Sastri. The fact is that the cumulative evidence of the relevant Brahmanical and early Buddhist literature points unmistakably to the fact that the pre-Maurya States of Northern India were already far advanced towards administrative centralisation. From this evidence we learn that the universal prevalence of the King's Peace and the King's Justice (specially in respect of the punishment of crimes) throughout the kingdom was taken for granted in those States. We have an index of the high development of the institution of the King's Peace in the

act of arresting criminals by the symbolical invocation of the king's officer, to which a *Jātaka* text (II, 301) bears witness. When the people, we read, pick up a stone or a potsherd saying, 'This is the king's officer, come along', he who refuses to go forth is punished. In the Magadha kingdom the law was so strict that according to a story when the king's troopers took refuge in the Buddhist Order to escape their obligation of military service, they were deemed worthy of death along with the monks who had ordained them: when the Magadha king, according to another story, issued a decree granting immunity from harm to all who were ordained in the Saṅgha, no one dared to prevent the abuse of this privilege by the monks till the Buddha himself stepped forward to prescribe the necessary rules (Vin. I, 73-76). These stories are certainly not records of fact, but they reflect the true spirit of the contemporary administration. According to the early Buddhist records, again, the officers of the central government comprised various grades of *Mahāmattas*, such as those in charge of law and justice (*Vinicchaya*° and *Vohārika*°) and military commands (*senānāyaka*°) (P.T.S. dict. s.v.). The early Smṛtis (Gautama, XVII 17; Vāśiṣṭha XIV 2) refer even to police officers and officers in charge of jails. A body of officials (*amātya*), a standing army (*daṇḍa*), and a permanent revenue (*kośa*) as well as the administrative division of the kingdom into urban and rural areas (*durga* and *janapada*) are implied in the stock-category of seven *prakṛtis* to which the oldest *Arthaśāstra* works bear witness. In the light of the above evidence, to which much more could be added if space were available, I am unable to accept Prof. Sastri's confident statement in support of his case for Hellenistic inspiration of the Maurya administration. "The *Sāsanādhikāra*", he says (above p. 176), "like the whole of Book II *Adhyakṣapracāra* was an innovation of Kaṭilya based evidently on contemporary practice in foreign States". Quoting in this connection what he calls "the unique definition" of *Arthaśāstra* in Kaṭilya's concluding chapter, Prof. Sastri remarks, "This sharply defined view of *artha* and its *śāstra* is not found elsewhere in Indian literature so far as I know, and is peculiar to Kaṭilya like the *Adhyakṣapracāra*". The above definition, however, is substantially repeated by another writer belonging to a much later date. Explaining the term *arthaśāstra* (*Amarakośa*, I 6.5), the commentator Sarvānanda says, *arthāḥ hiraṇyādayas teṣu pradhānamar-*

tho-bhūmiritareṣāṃ tadyonitvāt (artha while meaning gold and so forth chiefly means the earth, since these are derived therefrom).

Let us now turn to the crucial verses in the concluding portion of Kauṭilya III 1. Here we read,

*dharmāśca vyavahāraśca caritram rājaśāsanam /
vivādārthāscatuspādah paścimāḥ pūrvavādhakāḥ ||
tatra satye sthito dharmo = vyavahāraṣtu sākṣiṣu /
caritram saṃgrāhe puṃsāṃ rājñāmajñā tu śāsanam ||*

To the above Kauṭilya adds another set of verses, namely,

*anuśasaddhi dharmena vyavahāreṇa saṃsthayā /
nyāyena ca caturthena mahīm jayet ||
saṃsthayā dharmāśāstreṇa śāstram vā vyavahārikam /
yasminnarthe virudhyeta dharmenārtham vinirṇayet ||
Śāstram vipratipadyeta dharmanyāyena kenacit /
arthastatra pramāṇam syat tatra pāṭho naśyati ||*

In the second group of verses I took *dharma* or *dharmāśāstra*, *vyavahāra* or *vyavahārikāśāstra*, *saṃsthā* and *nyāya* to stand respectively for canon law, common law, usage and reasoning. It is surprising that Prof. Sastri should take this to convey the wholly unwarranted interpretation that “*saṃsthā* stands for *dharmāśāstra* (‘canon law’) and *nyāya* for *vyavahārikāśāstra* (‘common law’)”. To disprove my interpretation of the above terms Prof. Sastri cites the authority of Ganapati Sastri (who takes *śāstram* and *vyavahārikam* to mean ‘royal edict’ and ‘the evidence of witnesses’ respectively) and of J. J. Meyer (according to whom *nyāya* and *dharmanyāya* are equivalent to *rājājñā* and *rājaśāsana*). The value of these authoritative explanations is, however, discounted by the fact that Ganapati Sastri in the same breath understands *śāstra* to mean ‘the king’s edict’ as well as ‘*dharmāśāstra* like that of Manu’, while he takes *nyāya* to refer to ‘the royal decree based upon reason’ and *dharmanyāya* to mean ‘usage based upon *dharmā*’. By contrast both *nyāya* and *dharmanyāya*, according to Meyer quoted above, stand for the royal decree. The question, then, is whether the two groups of verses refer (as I think) to the law of procedure and the substantive law respectively, or whether (as Prof. Sastri believes) they repeat the same view of the sources of law. Prof. Sastri, to begin with, enters a general caveat against my interpretation by

emphatically declaring that “the modern distinction between substantive law and adjective law or even between civil and criminal law” was unknown to our ancient jurists “in these forms”. Against this opinion we have to point out that the division of *vyavahāra* into civil and criminal law was certainly realised by two of the most famous Smṛti-authorities of later times. According to Bṛhaspati (quoted in *Smṛticandrikā* III 2) the two grounds of disputes arise according as one injures another, or fails to return his due to another. Kātyāyana (Kane, *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra*, verse 30) observes that the two springs of *vyavahāra* are declared to be non-rendition of what is due to another and injury. What development was reached by the Smṛti-authorities in the law of procedure along with the substantive law is illustrated by the verses of Kātyāyana (Kane, *op. cit.*, verses 86-410) dealing elaborately with plaint and reply, summons and restraint (or arrest), documents and witnesses and so forth. Kauṭilya himself in the concluding verses of III. 1 mentions the processes contributing to a definite decision of judicial suits and those leading to the defeat of the plaintiff or the defendant. As regards the significance of the two sets of verses quoted above from Kauṭilya, Prof. Sastri says that the latter “only repeats what has been said already; *dharma* and *vyavahāra* are the same entities as in the earlier verses; *saṁsthā* is just another term for *caritra* which has been defined earlier as *puṁsām saṅgraha*, roughly social tradition; and the last member *nyāya* (reason) stands for royal orders based on reason or common sense”. Explaining Kauṭilya’s two accompanying verses relating to the conflict of laws, Prof. Sastri writes as follows, “In the first he says where *Dharmaśāstra* is in conflict with custom or contract (*sic*), the material interest involved (*artha*) is to be determined in the light of *dharma*; but in the next verse he practically reverses this rule and says roundly that *śāstra* becomes inapplicable when it conflicts with any (*kenacit*) *dharmanyāya*, i. e. a royal edict based on royal reason”. Now let us attempt to understand the plain meaning of the above texts without any “pre-supposition”. The first group of verses relates specifically to the four “feet” of a *vivādārtha* which Prof. Sastri translates as ‘what helps the suit’, but which I would rather render as ‘the subject-matter of a suit’ (cf. Meyer’s tr. ‘eine gerichtliche Streitsache’). These are enumerated as *dharma*, *caritra* and *rājaśāsana*

which are explained in the following verse respectively as resting upon solemn affirmation (by one or other of the parties), (the evidence of) witnesses, and the usages of men (bearing on the subject-matter of the suit) and as being identical with the king's decree. The plain meaning of this passage appears to be that judicial decision should be in accordance with one or other of the above rules of procedure. If Prof. Sastri pardons for the moment my reference to the evidence of the later Smṛtis, the above interpretation is clearly borne out by the similar text of Kātyāyana (Kane, *op. cit.* verses 35-38) which explains in detail how the decision (*nirṇaya*) in a dispute is to be given in accordance with the four processes above mentioned. When Kauṭilya in the same context makes the king's decree override all other processes of judicial decision, he evidently allows the king a quasi-legislative authority. But this is far from making the king a "law-maker" instead of a "law-guardian". The second group of verses in contrast with the first has a general connotation. It consists of three verses of which the first refers to the four sources of law, namely, *dharmā*, *vyavahāra*, *saṁsthā* and *nyāya*, while the second and the third make it clear that *dharmā*, *vyavahāra* and *nyāya* here stand for *Dharmaśāstra*, *Vyavahārikaśāstra* and *Dharmanyāya* respectively. From this fuller reference I inferred that *dharmā* and *vyavahāra* should be rendered as canon law and common law respectively. I would now identify this *Vyavahārikaśāstra* with *Arthaśāstra*, of which the well-arranged code would otherwise remain unaccounted for in Kauṭilya's list of the sources of law. From the above it would appear that Kauṭilya recognised four sources of substantive law, namely, the Sacred Canon, the technical *arthaśāstra*, usage and righteous reason. Of the king's edict as a source of law there is in this context no hint. In another place (II 10) Kauṭilya enumerates eight varieties of the king's edict (*śāsana*). But these appear from his very clear and precise definitions to be of the nature of administrative orders and communications and not of laws properly so called. Comparing Kauṭilya's sources of law with those of the early Smṛtis we find that such an early authority as Gautama (XI 19-24) specifically mentions the works of the Sacred Canon and usages of various kinds, while he more generally refers to reasoning (*tarka*) as a means of arriving at a just decision. Kauṭilya's innovation, then, lies in adding to this list a new item, namely, the

Vyavahārikaśāstra (or *Arthaśāstra*) and in arranging the four sources in an order of priority.

To conclude. In the above I think I have shown the correctness of the first two statements in my concluding summary (*I.H.Q.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 311). These are, firstly, that “there is no warrant for the view that Kauṭilya laid down the doctrine of supremacy of the royal decree or carried the royal authority to a pitch of absolutism unknown to Hindu constitutional law”, and secondly, that “Kauṭilya’s reference to the final authority of the king’s decree applies not to the branch of substantive law, but to that of the law of procedure”. As regards my third statement, namely, that “Kauṭilya’s view as thus explained is not unique in the sense that it found only one late follower in Nārada”, Prof. Sastri has not challenged its correctness. The case is otherwise with my fourth and last statement, namely that “to judge from the continuous Smṛti interpretation on the point, we may reasonably infer that Kauṭilya contemplated the king’s final discretionary authority in judicial administration to be subject to some limitations”. Referring to this passage Prof. Sastri charges me with following “the traditional method of our old commentators, the method of *samanvaya*”, which “must be resisted by a historian with all his strength”. The charge is as unfair as it is untrue. For in the first place I had sought, in the absence of any indication in Kauṭilya to that effect, to find in the later Smṛti-literature the explanation of his cryptic statement placing *rājasāsana* at the top of all methods of trial of suits in the king’s court. I sought in other words to follow the approved method of seeking the key to the unknown in the known. The clear evidence of the later Smṛtis and the Smṛti commentaries and digests led me to infer with due caution that similar limitations on the king’s judicial decree were contemplated by Kauṭilya. As I wrote “From the numerous links between the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛti* legal and political thought, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Kauṭilya understood the above dictum to be subject to some similar limitations upon the king’s authority”. In the second place I found support for this inference in Kauṭilya’s clauses of civil and criminal law, which in my opinion clearly implied the king’s subjection to the rule of positive law. Prof. Sastri on the other hand thinks that Kauṭilya here is “just repeating traditional, and possibly idealized

statements, having really no bearing on the constitutional position of the royal edict as a source of law". Prof. Sastri will pardon me if I take this to be a bit of special pleading which it is difficult to take seriously. For in the first place it begs the question by attributing to Kauṭilya the view that the royal edict is a source of law. Secondly, it involves the wholly gratuitous assumption that Kauṭilya while laying down his concrete clauses of positive law allowed himself to make "traditional and possibly idealized statements" running counter to one of his fundamental principles.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Chando-viciti—a Note

The following lines occur in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin (BORI. ed., i. 12):—

*Chandovicityām sakalas tatprapañco nidarśitaḥ|
sā vidyā naur vivikṣūṇām gambhīraṃ kāvya-sāgaram||*

The word 'chando-viciti', in the first line, has given rise to a good deal of controversy among the scholars as to its real meaning. The import of the word, as intended by Daṇḍin, we have no means to determine. Some scholars, the most prominent of whom are Peterson and Jacobi, take this word to refer to the third work of Daṇḍin, the two other works popularly ascribed to him being the *Daśa-kumāracarita* and the *Kāvyādarśa*. Doubts are, however, entertained even about the common authorship of these two works. Our source of information regarding Daṇḍin's authorship of three works is chiefly the following line of Rājaśekhara:—

trayo daṇḍi-prabandhāśca triṣu viśrutāḥ

It should be noted that Pischel supposes the *Mṛcchakaṭika* to be the third work of Daṇḍin. It is not our object here to examine the correctness of Rājaśekhara's statement or the propriety of Pischel's conjecture. We shall merely see whether the word 'chando-viciti' can reasonably be assumed to refer to any particular work with which Dandin can be associated as the author.

Pischel, followed by some scholars notably S. K. De, has rightly pointed out that this word does not refer to any particular treatise, but to the science of Metrics in general. (Vide De: *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p. 71)

Kane is also of this opinion. In support of his view, Kane has adduced the evidences of certain fairly old writers. (Vide *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp. 177-78). In addition to the evidences, collected by Kane, we may point out one more. The *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* enumerates *chando-*viciti** in the list of Vedāṅgas. The relevant portion of Āpastamba's work is quoted below :—

śaḍaṅgo vedah—II. 8. 10

chandah kalpo vyākaraṇam jyotiṣam niruktam

*śikṣā chando-*viciti** II. 8. 11

On the latter *sūtra* Haradatta's comment is as follows :—

gāyatrīyādīni chandāṁsi yayā vicīyante vivicya jñāyante sā chandovicitih

These *sūtras* of Āpastamba, which perhaps furnish the earliest evidence on the point, definitely discount the suggestion of Keith, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 296), that the word '*chando-*viciti**' might be intended by Daṇḍin to refer to a chapter to be appended to his *Kāvyādarśa*.

From the evidences, collected by Kane, along with the one referred to above, one is not inclined to accept the suggestion of Pischel that the word '*chando-*viciti**' here might refer to the fifteenth chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata which, according to the South Indian MS. tradition, is styled *chando-*viciti**.

While the available evidences lead us to take the word to refer to the science of Metrics in general, there is no conclusive proof of '*chando-*viciti**' indicating the work of Piṅgala, as Kane appears to be inclined to think.

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

Notes and Queries

1. *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga*

In a short note published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, volume XXVII, p. 339, Mr. Dasharatha Sharma comments on my suggestion regarding the interpretation of the title *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga* enjoyed by the celebrated Bengali scholar Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, published earlier in the same volume of the journal, pp. 80-82.

Mr. Sharma is inclined to interpret the expression *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga* as "the conqueror of Bālavalabhī". He suggests that Bhavadeva who was a *sāṇdhivigrahika* of king Harivarman of Vikramapura "at sometime or other led his master's forces into Bālavalabhī (in Rāḍha) and thus acquired the title *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga*."

Now a suggestion on such a difficult problem as the interpretation of Bhavadeva's title is no doubt welcome. I only feel that Mr. Sharma should have carefully gone through my note and considered all the difficulties involved.

I have shown that, according to Bhavadeva's own work entitled *Tautātitamatatilaka*, he received the title *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga* when he was yet a young student at his school (cf. *mām* = *adhyayana-daśāyām* = *uvāca vācam darśi svapne*, *Bālavalabbhībhujāṅga-āpara-nāmā tvam* = *asi Bhavadeva*). The title seems to have been conferred on Bhavadeva during his *adhyayana-daśā* by the *darśin* (*deśin*?) which may have been used in the *Tautātitamatatilaka* in the sense of a teacher. In any case, the fact can hardly be ignored that Bhavadeva himself connects his title with his student days. Mr. Sharma's suggestion would lead us to believe that Bhavadeva served as a minister of king Harivarman even before or during his *adhyayana-daśā*. Moreover Bālavalabhī was a quite small feudatory state not known from any other source excepting Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmācarita* and a distinguished minister of the mighty ruler of Vikramapura could hardly regard its conquest by him as a distinct achievement.

2. *The Śaka Era in South India*

In a paper on the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, pp. 216-22, Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggested that there is no trace of the use of this era in South

India between Śaka 46 and 465 and that certain Śaka kings of a certain Mahiṣa dynasty, whose coins found in the southern part of the Hyderabad State he had studied, were responsible for the name Mahiṣa being applied to the said area as well as for the transmission of the use of the Śaka era to the Calukyas of Badami. In a note in *IHQ.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 174-76, I pointed out that the *Lokavibhāga* was composed at Kāñcī in the Śaka year 380 corresponding to the twenty-second regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman and that Mahiṣa is known from a record of the fifth century A.D. to have been actually the name of a portion of North Mysore and not of South Hyderabad. My main contention was that "in the absence of any evidence worth the name in regard to the power of the Śaka dynasty (the existence of which has been suggested by Prof. Mirashi on the basis of certain coins that he has studied) the number of its rulers and the duration of their rule being unknown, its responsibility for continuing the use of the Śaka era till the middle of the sixth century can only be regarded as a mere conjecture". In *IHQ.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 341-46, Prof. Mirashi has tried to show that the points raised by me "do not affect my (i.e. Prof. Mirashi's) thesis in the least."

Prof. Mirashi's original contention was that the Mahiṣa country known from ancient Indian literature should be located in South Hyderabad. Now he says that, besides the Mahiṣa territory in North Mysore to which his attention was drawn by me, South Hyderabad "where Māna Mahiṣa and his successors were ruling may have also gone by the same name." But this is merely a conjecture which however, in his opinion, "receives support from several place-names derived from Mahiṣa such as Māski, Māswādi, Māsur, Māskeri, Māsaṅgi and Māsnur noticed in the Kanarese districts of the Hyderabad and Bombay States." The derivation of the above place-names from the word *mahiṣa* is however equally conjectural and does not prove that South Hyderabad was ever known by the name Mahiṣa. But the point need not be pursued as Prof. Mirashi now says, "whether that territory (South Hyderabad) bore the name Māhiṣaka or not is not however very material to my thesis," because the rule of Māna and another ruler of the Mahiṣa dynasty in the above area is established, in his opinion, on the evidence of coins.

As to the claim of Śaka rule in South Hyderabad, it may be pointed out that there is absolutely no proof worth considering to show that

the issuers of the coins in question were Śakas or that they used the Śaka era. It is wellknown to students of Indian numismatics that the coins of the Śaka rulers of Western India, from the time of the Mahākṣatrapas Jivadāman and Rudrasīmha I, who flourished in the last quarter of the second century A.D., usually bear the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the representation of the King's head. This feature is conspicuous by its absence on any of the coins attributed by Prof. Mirashi to the so-called Śakas of South Hyderabad. The whole of the Professor's theory is, in my opinion, based on the doubtful reading of certain coin-legends and its more dubious interpretation.

The name of the Śaka King Māna of the Mahiṣa dynasty is deduced from the letters *sagamanamaba* which are associated with *śakyamānā* found in some manuscripts of the *Purāṇas* (IHQ., vol XXII, p. 35). It should be noticed that the names of the Śaka rulers of ancient India did not usually begin with *śaka*. On the other hand, we have the name Sakasāda or Sakasena on certain coins, while some Kanheri inscriptions speak of one Māṭharīputra Svāmi-Sakasena; but these epigraphic and numismatic records are not attributed to the Śakas (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. lxxv). Prof. Mirashi himself speaks of the coins of a Sātavāhana King named Śakasātakarṇi (JNSI., vol II, p. 92). Even if therefore the letters *sagamanamaba* may be believed to yield *śakamāna-mahiṣa* (I am doubtful about the rendering), how can we be confident without further evidence that here is a reference to a Śaka King? How can one be definite that the Purāṇic *śakyamānā* (which has other variants) speaks actually of a Śaka King named Māna, in view of the fact that the word *Śaka*, quite wellknown to the Purāṇic chroniclers, is absent in this context?

The facts that the earliest instances associating the Śakas with the years of the Śaka era are noticed in the *Lokavibhāga* which was composed in Śaka 380 and in the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (of the celebrated Maga-Brāhmaṇa astronomer, Varāhamihira of Ujjayinī) which contains the expression *sapt-āśvi-veda-samkhyam Śaka-kālam* (Śaka 427) led me to offer the following suggestion in the *Age of Imperial Unity (History and Culture of the Indian People, Bombay, vol. II)*, p. 144: "The use of an era was introduced and popularised

in India by foreign rulers. The Śaka Satraps of Western India appear to have been originally feudatories of Kaniṣka and his successors and naturally used the era of their overlords. The continued use of the Kaniṣka era by these Śakas for a long time even after the decline of Kuṣāṇa power in India was apparently at the root of its being famous as 'the era of Śaka rulers' in Central and Western India and the adjoining territories. That of all the historical and popular eras of ancient India only the Vikrama-Saṁvat (the Scytho-Parthian era originated in Drangiana) and the Śaka-kāla are still in use is probably due partially to the fact that both of them came to be used in the region about West Malwa where the city of Ujjayinī became one of the strongest centres of astronomical studies in India, presumably under the patronage of Śaka and Gupta rulers. The Guptas used their own era on their coins meant for circulation in Western India, but did not compel their feudatories in Malwa to discontinue the use of the Vikrama Saṁvat and adopt the Gupta era. The Persian priests (Magi) who migrated to India and were known as the Maga-Brāhmaṇas of Śaka-dvīpa (Seistan) appear to have contributed to the growth of the Ujjain school of astronomy in the age of the Śakas. The spread of the use of the Śaka era over South India was to a considerable degree due to the Jains whose principal centre was in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region within the dominions of the Śakas. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jains have largely contributed to the development of the legends about Śaka-Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya who are associated respectively with the Śaka-kāla (later Śālivāhana-Śaka the word *Śaka* in this case meaning an 'era') and the Vikrama-Saṁvat." The Jain preference of the Śaka era is explained by the fact that in their literature (cf. the *Kālakācāryakathā*) the Śakas are clearly represented as "defenders of the Jain faith" (*JRAS.*, 1913, p. 993).

Now Prof. Mirashi expresses his doubts about the genuineness of the Śaka date in the *Lokavibhāga*. He draws our attention to Fleet's views (expressed in 1909) on the date, which were however rejected by other authorities who said, "The date, which is genuine, is the earliest date recorded in the Śaka era" (*Early History of India*, 1924, p. 493). It is really impossible to believe that the Śaka year 380 corresponding to the twenty-second regnal year of the

Pallava king Simhavarman of Kāñcī could have been fabricated after many centuries as implied by Prof. Mirashi. But since he is ready for "supposing that the date Śaka 380 is genuine," the point need not be pursued further.

As to my suggestion regarding Jain contribution to the spread of the Śaka era in South India, Prof. Mirashi says, "There is no evidence that the Gujarat-Kathiawad region was the only stronghold of the Jains from where Jain merchants could have migrated to South India.....The known history of other eras shows that an era spreads with the extension of the dominion of the ruling power which starts or patronises it.....If eras could have spread with the migration of merchants, the Christian era would have been current throughout India long before the Muslim, Maratha and Sikh kingdoms were annexed by the British." I am sorry to note that the learned Professor has misunderstood me. In the first place, I never meant the Jain merchants but only the Jain administrators and astronomers in the employ of the South Indian monarchs. Secondly, the use of an era did not always spread "with the extension of the dominion of the ruling power which starts or patronises it." The history of the spread of the Śaka era in Indian territories like Assam as well as in the Far Eastern countries would give a definite lie to such a contention. This point can be easily demonstrated with the help of the known facts of the history of various parts of India and Further India.

I do not think that there is any genuine evidence in favour of the existence of a Śaka ruling family in South Hyderabad and of their responsibility in spreading the Śaka era to the Kannaḍa area which, it may be pointed out, contributed a great deal to the development of the Śaka-Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya sagas. It may be noted further in this connection that I now fully agree with Dr. G. S. Gai's suggestion regarding the earliest mention of the royal name Śālivāhana in association with the Śaka era in the Kannaḍa work *Udbhaṭakāvya* composed in 1222 A. D. (cf. *JOR.*, vol. XVIII, p. 190; vol. XIX, pp. 42-43).

3. *Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa*

My article entitled "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa" has been recently published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

of Great Britain and Ireland, Parts 1-2, 1952, pp. 4-10. In it I have discussed a number of early Orissan charters recording grants of land subject to the annual payment of a specified sum by the donees to the donor. In some cases this sum has been mentioned as *kara*, i. e. rent. In other cases however the gift land has been declared as revenue-free and the annually payable amount has been designated by the name of a cess such as *ṭṛṇ-odaka*. A few other inscriptions of the same type, which have recently come to my notice, are discussed in the following lines.

I. The Adava-Kannayavalasa plates of the Māthara king Prabhañjanavarman, son of Śaktivarman and grandson of Śaṅkaravarman, were published by Mr. L. H. Jagadeb in the *Vaitaraṇī*, vol. IV, June, 1930, pp. 293-98. Mr. Jagadeb could not read and interpret the passage *sāmvatsarika-kara-pan-āgra-śataṇ(te) dvan(due)* in the concluding portion of the record. It shows that the grant of Niṅgoṇḍi by king Prabhañjanavarman of Kalinga as an *agrahāra* to several Brāhmaṇas was subject to the payment of 200 *paṇas* (probably of cowries) in advance every year as *kara* or rent.* The inscription has been recently reedited by me for the *Epigraphia Indica*.

II. The Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman, edited by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff., are of exactly the same nature as the Adava-Kannayavalasa plates noticed above, although the editor failed to interpret the record properly. In recording the grant of a rent-free *agrahāra* by king Caṇḍavarman of Kalinga, the document says, *ṣaṭtrīṣa(trimśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyaṇ = c = āgrahāra-pradeyaṁ sām̐ba(sāmv̐a)starikaṁ sa(pa)ṇ-āgraṁ(gra)-śatabhu(dva)yaṇ = c = ā[m̐*]śaṁ c = opanibandhyah(ndhya) Tiritṭhānavāṭakāgrahāra[h̐*] Brāhmaṇānaṁ nānā-gā(go)tra-sabrahmacāri-nām samprattah̐*. In my paper on the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha, to be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, I have shown how numbers like 18 and 36 are used in the Indian languages in the senses of "many" and "all". The number 36 has been used similarly to mean "all" in the record under notice. Thus the inscription says

* In *JAHRS.*, vol. XIX, 127, Mr. S. N. Rajaguru suggests that this passage contains the date of the record in words which give "the number 222, and it may be taken as the Gupta Samvat which was then current in this part of India". The suggestion is however fantastic.

that the grant of Tiriṭṭhāṭhānavāṭaka as a rent-free *agrabāra* in favour of some Brāhmaṇas was subject to the annual payment of 200 *paṇas* in advance as the *agrabāra-pradeya* payable by the donees of all *agrabāras*. As *agrabāras* were rent-free holdings and as the grant in question is declared to be revenue-free, the expression *agrabāra-pradeya* has been used here to indicate the nominal rent or cess instead of *kara*, just as *ṭṛṇ-odaka* is found used in similar context in other records. The custom of collecting annually 200 *paṇas* from the *agrabāras* of ancient Kalinga seems also to be referred to in the passage *ṣaṭtriṃśad-agrabāra-sāmānyaṇ = kṛtvā* occurring in the Brihatprosltha grant of king Umavarman of Kalinga, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 5.

III. The Narsingpur plate of Devānanda has been edited by myself in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVII, pp. 331ff. Lines 20-23 of the extremely corrupt text of this inscription record the grant of Doloṣaragrāma situated in the Kaleda *khaṇḍa* (Pargana) of the Erāvātṭa *maṇḍala* (District) in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Dālbya *gotra* whose name is unfortunately not easily traceable in the text. As the passage *Viṭhusuta-Siharaṣu(su)ta-Naṭasuta* looked merely to give the names of the donee's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, it was suggested that the meaningless *ṭṛṇoka*, etc., following the reference to the Brāhmaṇa's *gotra* and *pravara*, may contain his personal name: "If the name of the donee is expected here we may probably suggest *Trilokāya* in place of *ṭṛṇokapā*." It however now appears to me that the passage *ṭṛṇokapāñcapala* occurring in line 23 of the record really stands for *ṭṛṇodaka pañcapala* which no doubt speaks of the annual cess payable by the donee for the gift land as fixed at five *Palas* probably of silver. As regards the name of the donee, it is either omitted through inadvertence or it was Naṭa the word *suta* being put after it inadvertently.

In my article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I have taken the letters *ruka* in the Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī to stand for Sanskrit *rūpyaka*. It may now be pointed out that the same word occurs in Telugu as *rūka* which is explained as "a small coin called *Fanam* (Sanskrit *Paṇa*)" or "money". A *Fanam* is now regarded as equivalent to either one anna and a quarter or two annas and a half (cf. Sankaranarayana's *Telugu-English Dictionary*, s.v.)

although in earlier times there were Fanams of both gold and silver (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.; *Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v. *Pana*). The inscription however uses the Telugu word in the sense of its Sanskrit original.

4. *Nālandā Inscription of Śūrapāla*

In *IHQ*, XXVI, p. 139, I referred to a stone slab lying at Rajauna near Luckeesraï (Monghyr District, Bihar), which bears a representation of the twelve Ādityas and an inscription recording its installation in the fifth regnal year of Śūrapāla who no doubt belonged to the celebrated Pāla royal family of Bengal and Bihar. It was suggested that this king is the first of the two Pāla rulers of the same name, who was otherwise called Vīgrahapāla I and flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. In the latest authoritative work on the history of eastern India, viz., *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), vol. I, p. 176, the reign of the Pāla king Śūrapāla I or Vīgrahapāla I was placed tentatively in the period 850-54 A.D. This was because two Buddha images from Biharsharif (Patna District, Bihar) were known to have been installed in the third regnal year of that king (*ibid.*, p. 172). The date of the Rajauna inscription however shows that the Pāla king Śūrapāla I ruled at least for about five years. I have now found out another image inscription of the same king from South Bihar.

Recently I had occasion to examine some impressions of an inscription from Nālandā, which was edited by H. Sastri in his *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66), 1942, p. 113, with a note from the pen of N. P. Chakravarti. Unfortunately it was not realised that the record belongs to the reign of Śūrapāla, although a part of it bearing a date in the king's regnal reckoning is broken away.

Sastri observes, "Two statues, one of which is marked S.I.A. 231a and the other S.I.A. 231b, also bear votive inscriptions. The former gives:

1. Śrī-Nālandāyā(yām) talahattake Śrī-Nṛvakuṅga(?)-pati
2. Kalasukatha.....kṛtāḥ

and on the latter the words *Śrī-Sūrapa*.....can be made out (Pl. X, d)". Chakravarti's remarks on Sastri's observation quoted above

run as follows: "Both the pieces belong to the same statue. To me the reading towards the end seems to be: [G]audīvākuṭṭapati-Kalas-[tha]kadevasy = āyañ kṛtaḥ." The suggestion that the two pieces form parts of the same record is no doubt clearly borne out by the impressions examined by me as well as by Plate X, d in Sastri's work. Chakravarti's reading of a few letters in line 1 of the record is also an improvement upon Sastri's. But the reading of the concluding part of the inscription as suggested by Sastri and Chakravarti is clearly untenable. The reading of the inscription is:

1. [Siddham expressed by symbol.] Śrī-Sūrap[ā]... .. Śrī-Nālandāya Talahaṭṭake Gaudīvākuṭṭa-patni-

2. Kalas[u]ka-dedharmmo = yañ kṛtaḥ

Considering the length of the damaged space and the style of similar votive inscriptions of the area, the inscription under review would read as follows in correct Sanskrit :

[Siddham] Śrī-Sūrapāladeva-rājye Saṃvat...śrī-Nālandāyāñ Talahaṭṭake Gaudīvākuṭṭa-patnyā Kāśukayā deva-dharmmo = yañ kṛtaḥ.

Translation: "Let there be success! This meritorious gift is caused to be made by Kāśukā, wife of Gaudīvā Kuṭṭa, at Talahaṭṭaka in the illustrious Nālandā, in the year...during the reign of the illustrious Sūrapāladeva".

5. *Edūka*

In her paper entitled *Aidūka* in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. I, No. 3, pp. 278 ff., Miss P. Shah says (*op. cit.*, p. 282), "The Vedic origin of *Aidūka* which I have suggested above would justify its inclusion in V. D. (=the *Viṣṇudharmottara*); because, if it were a Buddhist form, it could not have found a place in it. We however find the word *Aidūka* used in the *Mahāvastu* to indicate a Buddhist *Stūpa*. As it happens in the case of other words like *Caitya*, etc., the word *Aidūka* also must have been used as a synonym of *Stūpa*." But in her eagerness to disprove the Buddhist association of the *edūkas* or *aidūkas*, she not only explains away the stamp of non-Brahmanical character put on the *edūka* in the

verses quoted by her from the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* but also fails to notice a clear indication of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* itself.

In her analysis of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* description of the *edūka* or *aiḍūka*, Miss Shah says, "Below the *bhūmikās* (floors) but above the *liṅga* should be placed in the four directions the *Loka-pālas* carrying *śūlas* in their hands. Their names are Virūḍha, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera. All of them should have the dress of the sun and should wear armours. They should be adorned with ornaments. Virūḍhaka represents Śakra the lord of the Devas; Dhṛtarāṣṭra Yama the leader of the worlds; Virūpākṣa Varuṇa the lord of waters; and Kubera is the lord of the Yakṣas." Miss Shah should have noticed that the association of the *edūka* in the above description with Virūḍhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera clearly demonstrates its original Buddhist character, as they are the famous *Loka-pālas* of early Buddhist mythology (see Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 65 ff.). The attempt of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to identify the Buddhist *Loka-pālas* with the Brahmanical *Loka-pālas* of the early period, viz. Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera (vide *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 196), no doubt points to the assimilation of an essentially Buddhist institution in the fold of Brahmanism.

D. C. SIRCAR

A Note on the Status of the Early Candella Rulers

The earliest prince of the Candella dynasty, according to the evidence of the Khajurāho Inscriptions, is Nannuka. In the Khajurāho Inscriptions nos. 2 and 4 he has been mentioned as 'nrpa'¹ and 'mahīpati'² respectively. The records however do not furnish any definite data about him or the circumstances leading to the foundation of the Candella State. Nannuka has been extolled in vague and conventional phrases in verse 10 :—

*Tatra Kṣatra-suvarṇṇa-sāra-nikaṣagrāvā yaśaścandana-kṛīḍālāṅkṛta
dik-purandhri-vadanah Śrī Nannukobbhūnnrpaḥ |
Yasyā-pūruva parākramakramanaman-niḥśeṣa-vidveṣinah
sambhṛāntāḥ śirasā-vahan-nṛpatayaḥ śeṣāmivājñān bhayāt³ ||*

The verse thus describes him as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order', and 'one who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame'. He is said to have forced even the enemy princes to bow down their heads before him, and made them carry his commands on their heads like diadems. Another verse (no. 11)⁴ describes him as a conqueror of many hosts of enemies (*babuvairivargajayinah*). Verse 15 of the Khajurāho Inscription no. 4⁵ refers to him as one 'whose skill in the use of bows and arrows reminded people of the great Epic hero, Arjuna'.

The traditional accounts, preserved in the folk-ballads and stories, do not make any mention of Nannuka. They unanimously refer to one Candravarman as the founder of the Candella dynasty. The Mahobā Khaṇḍ, a Rāso, current in the Bundelkhand region, gives a fanciful story about the birth of Candravarman⁶. The military exploits ascribed to the prince in these bardic legends hardly agree, as I have shown in a separate paper⁷, with the facts known from authen-

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 125, v. 10.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 141, v. 11.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 131.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 141:

*Tena vikramadbanena dhanuinā krāmatā yudhi vadbāya vidviṣām
Dhunvatā dhanuradbijyam-Arjunaṁ smāritā divi vimāna-gāminah ||*

6 *Parmāl Rāso*. Ed. by Sri Shyamsundar Das; *ASR.*, II, pp. 445-46.

7 *Journal of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, 1953-54.

tic sources. The legendary account has, therefore, generally been rejected by scholars.

In one of the MSS. of the Mahobā Khaṇḍ, however, Cunningham noticed *Sam* 225, mentioned as the date of the consecration of Candravarman⁸. Presuming it to be dated in the Harṣa Era, Cunningham concluded that the founder of the Candella State began to rule from c. 851 A. D. The date of the Khajurāho Inscription of Yaśovarman, 6th in descent from Nannuka, the founder of the family, is V. S. 1011 (A. D. 954). Calculating on the basis of an average of 20 to 25 years per reign, Cunningham placed the founder in the beginning of the 9th cent. A. D. This, he pointed out, supported his theory that the date in the Mahobā Khaṇḍ should be assigned to the Harṣa Era.

V. Smith⁹ and H. C. Ray¹⁰ accept the view of Cunningham as regards the date of the founder of the Candella dynasty. Smith suggests further on the basis of the traditional accounts, preserved in the Qānungo families of Mahobā, that Nannuka might have been the leader who wrested Mahobā from the Pratihāras.

With regard to the status of Nannuka and his successor, Vākpati, Smith holds that they are not referred to simply as ancestors, but that they must have enjoyed some sort of sovereign power, as indicated by the use of such epithets as 'nṛpa' and 'mahīpati' in the Khajurāho inscriptions.

H. C. Ray controverting this assumption of Smith, holds that it was rather unlikely for the early Candellas to establish a sovereign state ousting the Parihārs, while the latter were at the height of their power. Though suggesting that the name Candravarman might have been the 'biruda' of Nannuka, Dr. Ray thinks that Nannuka was at best a feudatory to the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras, probably to Nāgabhaṭa II (815-833 A. D.)¹¹. But why should it be presumed that from the very beginning the Candellas were feudatories to the Gurjara-Pratihāras?

A survey of the political condition of Northern India during the beginning of the 9th cent. A. D. reveals the utter instability that

8 *ASR.*, II, pp. 446-47.

9 *JASB.*, 1881, vol. L. p. 5.

10 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 667. f. n. 4.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 667-68.

was prevailing in the region due to the continued struggle for supremacy between the three contemporary powers,—the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas of Bengal¹². During these troublous days it might have been possible for a local tribal leader in the Bundelkhand region to establish an independent chiefship, not necessarily owing allegiance to any suzerain power. It need not be supposed that the Candellas during this period wrested Mahobā region from the Pratihārs, as suggested by Smith. In fact there is no positive evidence of any direct conflict between the early Candellas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It may be assumed that Nannuka, the leader of a local tribe, found a suitable opportunity in the prevailing circumstances to organise it on a military basis, and that it was under his leadership that the nucleus of the Candella State was founded in the region, which later came to be known as Jejābhukti¹³ or Jajāhoti¹⁴. As the Pratihāras were preoccupied with deadly struggles against their powerful enemies, it may have been possible for the Candellas to lay the foundation of the chiefship.

But the picture of the Pratihāra power, as drawn by Dr. Ray, seems to be, I am afraid, a little exaggerated. The Gurjara-Pratihāra power did not rise to its height even by the end of Nāgabhaṭa II's reign. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the evidence of the Jain text *Prabhāvaka Carita*, connecting Kanauj with Nāgabhaṭa II, is not reliable.¹⁵ Thus Kanauj may not have formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dominion even during Nāgabhaṭa II's time, i. e., 833 A. D. He was followed by Rāmabhadra (833-36 A. D.) on the Pratihāra throne, who again was a weak ruler. Down to about the middle of the 9th cent. A. D. the Pālas were still a considerable power in Northern India. If all these circumstances are taken into account

12 *Journal of the Deptt. of Letters*, vol. X. pp. 42-43; *DHNI.*, vol. I, pp. 567-68; *History of Kanauj*, Tripathi, pp. 230-32.

13 Madanpur Inscription of V. S. 1239. Cunningham. *ASR.*, XXI, pp. 173-74; D. R. Bhandarkar, *PRAS.*, W.C. 1903-04. p. 55. The name is also spelt as,—“Jejābhuktiḥ”, (Mahobā Inscription, *El.*, vol. I, p. 221); Ratnapur stone Inscription of Cedi Saṁ. 866. *El.*, vol. I, p. 35 spells it as “Jejābhuktika”.

14 Biruni's *Indica*. Trans. by Sachau, vol. I, p. 202; also spelt as “Jajhoti” in ‘On Yuan Chwang’ by Watters, vol. II, p. 251.

15 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 12. f. n. 3.

it does not become necessary to presume that the Candellas could not have existed except as a feudatory to the Pratihāras.

In connection with Vijayaśakti, third in lineal descent from Nannuka, it may be observed that he is described as having carried on expeditions to the far south to help the cause of an ally.

Subrd-upakṛti-dakṣo dakṣināsām jīgīṣuḥ
*punaradhita payodher-bandha vaidbhūyamaṛyaḥ/v. 20.*¹⁶

If Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti were feudatories to the Pratihāras, to whom this epithet '*subrd*' should be applied? It would not be an appropriate epithet for a Gurjara-Pratihāra king, if he was their overlord. Further nothing is known about any expedition of the Pratihāras to the extreme south of India, in which they may have been helped by the Candellas. R. C. Majumdar¹⁷ thinks that the Candella Chief might have helped Devapāla in latter's southern expedition, which is mentioned in the Pāla epigraphy. (...*Āsetoḥ prathita daśāsya-keṭu-kīrteḥ*... Monghyr Grant.¹⁸) If this view is accepted it will appear that the Candellas were free to help other powers, such as the Pālas, who were the bitter enemies of the Pratihāras. If the Candellas were really feudatories to the Gurjara Pratihāras, as supposed by some scholars, it would have been unusual for them to do so. Thus it appears that the feudatory status of the Candellas in relation to the Gurjara-Pratihāras is not clearly established.

The Candella ruler, Yaśovarman, however was a feudatory to the Pratihāras.¹⁹ Before him Harṣa had helped the Gurjara-Pratihāras, possibly in a domestic strife.²⁰ There is no definite indication of his status in relation to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. When, then, did the Candellas first accept the position of a feudatory to the Pratihāras?

16 Khajurāho Inscription No. 4. *El.*, vol. I, pp. 141-42.

17 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 119, f n. 4.

18 *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 304; *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 38.

19 This is evident from the reference to Vināyakapāla as ruling over the earth in the Khajurāho Inscription of V. S. 1011, l. 29. "*Śrī Vināyakapāladeve pālayati vasudhām*...". *El.*, vol. I, p. 129.

20 "*Punar-yena Śrī Kṣitipāladeva-nṛpatiḥ simhāsane sthā(pitaḥ)*" *El.*, vol. I, p. 122, l. 10.

From about the middle of the 9th cent. A. D. there was a progressive weakening of the Pāla power²¹ and a temporary cessation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks. The Candellas in all probability, may have accepted the suzerainty of the Pratihāras during this time, as no other power was stronger than the Pratihāras in Northern India then. By doing so they gained for themselves a recognised political status, though it was that of a feudatory. Jayaśakti's importance in the family is indicated in the statement found in its records that Jejā gave his name to Jejābhukti as Pṛthu did to Pṛthivī.

Jejākhyayātha nṛpatiḥ sa babhūva Jejābhuktiḥ
Pṛthoriva yataḥ Pṛthivīyām-āsit/.²²

Further it may also be observed that the later Candella rulers generally invoke Jayaśakti and his brother, Vijayaśakti as the early ancestors of the family in the opening verse of their records.

Jayatyāhlādayan-viśvaṁ Viśveśvara-śiroddhṛtaḥ
Candrātreyā narendrānāṁ Vamśaścandra iv-ojjalaḥ //
Tatra pravarddhamāne virodhi vijaya bhrājīṣṇu
*Jayaśakti-Vijayaśaktiyādi vīrāvīrbhāva bhāsvare*²³

The importance appears to have been due to the fact that he (Jayaśakti), by submitting to the overlordship of the Pratihāras, the greatest power in Northern India in his time, was able to win a recognised status for his family.

Nannuka founded the nucleus of the Candella dominion, but he was a tribal chief only. For about fifty years the Candellas profited by the political disturbances in which other powers were seriously involved. Afterwards when the superiority of the Pratihāras was firmly established they submitted to their overlordship, as there was no other alternative.

This relationship continued till the time of Yaśovarman, including that of his predecessor, Harṣa. The prestige of the family increased

21 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 129; *DHNL.*, vol. I, p. 303; *Some Historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Sen, p. 360.

22 Mahobā Inscription. *EL.*, vol. I, p. 221, v. 10.

23 Nānyaura Plate 'C' of Madanavarman, V.S. 1190. *IA.*, vol. XVI, p. 208; Icchāwār Plate of Paramardideva, V.S. 1228. *IA.*, vol. XXV, p. 206; Semrā Plate of V.S. 1223. *EL.*, vol. IV., p. 157; Mahobā Plate of V.S. 1230. *EL.*, vol. XVI, p. 12.

as a result of their intervention in the affairs of their Imperial overlords at a critical moment of the latter's history. With the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power, to which the Candellas contributed substantially by the capture of the fortresses of Kālīñjar²⁴ and Gwālior,²⁵ they shook off their allegiance to the Pratihāras and established their complete independence from the time of Dhaṅgadeva, succeeding Yaśovarman, who though a feudatory, is styled as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Yaśovarmadeva* in the records of his son.²⁶ These titles are not however used by Yaśovarman in his records, but it must be admitted that the Candellas paid only a nominal allegiance to the Pratihāras during his time.

Sisir Kumar Mitra

24 *Jagrāha kṛīḍayā...Kālāñjarādrim*, *El.*, vol. I., p. 127-28. v. 31.

25 Khajurāho Inscription No. 4. V. 45. *El.*, vol. I., p. 129.

26 Nānāura Plate 'A' of Dhaṅgadeva. V.S. 1055. *IA.*, vol. XVI, p. 203.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture,
vol. IV, no. 4

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK.—*The Duties of a State Ruler in Ancient India.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society,
vol. 73, no. 2 (April-June, 1953)

P. TEDESCO.—*Sanskrit ā-mreḍ 'to repeat'*. 'Āmreḍaya' 'to repeat' is considered to be a morphological variant of āvartaya. It is connected with * ā-mṛtta, a Mid. Ind. form of ā-vṛtta. The development is explained by a reference to several Prakrit and Sanskrit roots. Āmreḍ—in Sanskrit becomes āmel—in Ardha Māgadhī, mr developing into m.

Ibid., vol. 73, no. 3 (July-September, 1953)

LOUIS RENOU.—*Le Passage des Brāhmaṇa aux Upanisad.*

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXXIX, pts 1-2

B. P. MAJUMDAR.—*Lakulīśa Pāśupatas and their Temples in Mediaeval India.* A Śaiva Teacher of power and influence earned the appellation Lakulin or Lakulīśa for carrying a club in hand. In mediæval times his followers, the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas spread all over India and erected images for worship in far flung regions like Rajasthan and Assam. They used black dress and followed the Vaiśeṣika school of philosophy. Religious practices observed by them are found described in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* and the *Gaṇakārikā*.

S. H. ASKARI.—*A Newly Discovered Volume of Awadhi Works including Padmāwat and Akbrawat of Malik Muḥammad Jāisi.*

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Two Brāhmī Inscriptions.*

(i) A Prakrit epigraph found near Kośam and assigned to the first century B. C. is described as recording the construction of a *vedikā* in honour of Maṇibhadra.

(ii) Several improvements are suggested in the readings of the Mathurā fragmentary Pillar Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (1st. quarter of the 1st. century B. C.)

VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA.—*Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*. A discussion of the theory of the divinity of king in ancient India is contained in this instalment of the paper.

K. K. DUTTA.—*Bihar and the Indian Movement of 1857-59*. In the freedom movement started by the Indian Sepoys in the middle of the last century, the challenge to British authority was widespread in Bihar.

BANKEY BIHARI MISRA.—*The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782*. A detailed account of the criminal justice and police administration is continued from the previous issue of the journal.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXI, pt. 1

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Pārśvanātha—His Life and Doctrine*.

Journal of the Oriental Institute,

M. S. University of Baroda, vol. III, no. 2

LUDO ROCHER.—*Quotations from the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras in the Dharmanibandhas*. The writer discusses the utility of a careful collection of all the quotations in Smṛti digests and proposes to draw up lists of such quotations.

R. C. HAZRA.—*The Bhaviṣyottara, a Non-sectarian Upapurāṇa of Wide Popularity*. The contents of the *Bhaviṣyottara* are analysed, and its compilation assigned to the end of the 8th century.

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI.—*Contribution to a Buddhist Bibliography—No. 3*. Notes and papers bearing on different aspects of Buddhistic studies are listed from *Indian Antiquary*, *Poona Orientalist* and *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*.

S. R. SEHGAL.—*Critical Value of the Bombay Edition of the Ṛgveda*. Passages in Sāyaṇa's commentary printed in Max Müller's edition and the Poona edition sometimes differ from those in the Bombay edition which seem to be authentic.

U. P. SHAH.—*Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature*.

S. N. VYAS.—*Position of the Daughter in the Rāmāyaṇa Society*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XXII, part. 2

- H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala X*. Ten hymns from the *R̥gveda* (X, 54, 55, 73, 74, 88, 89, 96, 102-104) have been rendered into English with annotations.
- G. K. BHAT.—(A) *Bhāsa and Bharata*. Various instances in the *Bhāsa* plays not conforming to the rules laid down in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* lead to the conclusion that either *Bhāsa* had preceded the present *Nāṭyaśāstra* or followed a different tradition of dramaturgy.
- (B) *The Problem of Tragedy*. The elements which are considered to be marks of a tragedy are found in abundance in *Bhāsa*'s two dramas—*Urubhaṅga* and *Karṇabhāra*.
- A. D. PUSALKAR.—*Historical Data from the Kṛṣṇacarita ascribed to Samudragupta*. The *Kṛṣṇacarita* furnishing accounts of literary giants like Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Aśvaghōṣa and Mātṛgupta differentiates the dramatist Kālidāsa from the author of the *Raghuvamśa*. The authenticity of the work is doubted specially on the ground that it mentions Mātṛgupta, a later poet of Kashmir, and refers to the 'Fourth' Buddhist Council, a later institution.
- S. N. GANJENDRAGADKAR.—श्रीमूलहणकृत वृत्तरत्नाकरवृत्तिः. The third chapter of this edited work on metre is published here.
- HIRALAL R. KAPADIA.—*Detection of Poison in Food*. How poison in food was detected in ancient times by noting its effects on birds and beasts is described on the basis of measures prescribed in Sanskrit treatises.

Journal of the University of Poona, no. 1

- R. N. DANDEKAR.—*Rudra in the Veda*. Emphasis is laid on different traits of Rudra's character in different periods of Vedic literature. The god is sometimes described malevolent and sometimes beneficent. He is glorified as the lord of thieves and serpents, and is associated with cults of the Munis and the Vṛātyas. He dominates over death and demons. An examination of his complex personality reveals that his association with storm, mountain and light does not help determination of his real character. The Vedic Rudra seems to have inherited much from the various aspects of the pre-Vedic proto-Indian god—"such as the red god of the proto-Dravidians, the Paśupati-yogīśvara of the Indus Valley people, the supreme male

god associated with the Mother goddess cult and the cult of 'mothers', the god of procreation, fecundity, and vegetation, the cultivator god and the god of cultivators, the vagrant god and the god of vagrants, the creator and the destroyer, the demon divinity associated with wilderness and mountains, with dangerous places and inauspicious things etc.'

Man in India, vol. 32, no. 4

S. R. DAS.—*A Study of Vrata Rites in Bengal.*

नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका

(Quarterly Hindi Journal of the Nagari Pracarini Sabha),

vol. 57, nos. 2-3

VASUDEVSARAN AGRAWAL.—पाणिनिकालीन भूगोल. The paper deals with all the geographical data in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Ibid., vol. 57, no. 4

VASUDEVSARAN AGRAWAL.—हर्षचरित मे वर्णित भारतीय वस्त्र. This is an account of the textile fabrics mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.

सरस्वतीसुषमा

(Quarterly Sanskrit Journal of the Banaras Sanskrit College)

MANGALDEV SASTRI.—ऐतरेयारण्यकपर्यालोचनम्. *A study of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka.*

ALAKHNIRANJAN PANDEYA.—गृह्यकर्मसु वैदिकदेवतानां सम्बन्धः. The place of the Vedic deities in domestic rites is discussed.

ANANDA JHA.—गौतमद्वयो. The Two Gautamas.

Vedantakesari, vol. XI, no. 3

S. R. RANGANATHAN.—*Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Indian Thought and Culture.*

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Early Rulers of Mewar and their Fights with the Arabs

1. *Guhil and his immediate successors*

A critical examination of the Rajput annals and traditions, when corroborated with more reliable epigraphic evidence available, reveals that Guhil or Guhadutta, a Kṣatriya of the Solar race,* founded a kingdom near about Idar in the second half of the sixth century of the Christian era.¹ His descendants continued to rule for long this hilly region comprising the modern states of Idar, Sirohi and western Mewar, inhabited mostly by the Bhilas. Except a few inscriptions no contemporary account of the earlier Rajas is known to exist. Nothing practically but names are yet known to us about the times of Guhil's three successors—Bhoja, Mahendra, and Nāga or Nāgāditya. The next two names in the Aitpur inscription of 977 A.D. are of Śīla and Aparājita. There are two contemporary inscriptions of these rulers which throw light on the prosperity of their kingdom. It can safely be inferred from the information contained in these records that by this time the Guhilot kingdom was fairly consolidated. The Sāmoli stone inscription² of 646 A.D. speaks of Śīla as a powerful ruler, conqueror of enemies, affording delight to the Gods, Brāhmaṇas and the Gurus or the preceptors. The construction of new temples, the existence of merchant guilds, the frequent visits of a large number

* See my article on 'The Origin of Guhilots: Were they Nāgar Brāhmaṇas' in *IHQ*. Dec. 1951.

1 As the Sāmoli inscription of Śīla, the fifth descendant of Guhil is dated 646 A.D. by roughly assigning 20 years to each generation the date of Guhil his great great grandfather can be fixed in the middle of the 6th century.

2 *Nāgari Pracārini Patrikā* (N.S.), pt. I, 311-24.

of pilgrims and the working of the salt mines—referred to in it are all suggestive of the prosperity and peace of his dominion. Śilāditya, thus was an important contemporary of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.) in western India. There is no mention of Śīla or his kingdom in Huen-tsang's accounts or in any other so far known Sanskrit work of those times. It is perhaps because the Chinese traveller never visited these hilly tracts of the country where Buddhism had more or less declined.

The same stability and prosperity are reflected in the inscription of Śīla's son and successor, Aparājita, found in the Kundesvara temple near Nāgdā, a place ten miles north of Udaipur and then the capital of these Guhilot chiefs. Aparājita is said to have destroyed all the turbulent element and was respected by the neighbouring Rajas and that he appointed one Varāha Singh son of Śīva, a renowned fighter as commander of his forces³. On the basis of this description it can be asserted that the kingdom founded by Guhil continued to flourish till 661 A.D. the date of this inscription. The successors of Aparājita, according to Aitpur and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions of the dates C. 977 and 1460 respectively, were Mahendra II and Kālbhoja. No specific records of their times are available as yet. The Rajput chronicles and bardic genealogies, mostly composed in the later times do not furnish any definite information about these names. But these together with the annals of Rānā's house, though confused and exaggerated, no doubt, preserve some significant facts about a prince referred to as Bāppā, a warrior of fame who is said to have captured Chitor, then held by the Mori Rājputs⁴. A genealogy of these Mori princes is available in the Mānsarovar lake inscription⁵ of Mān at Chitor dated 713 A.D.

2. *Bardic legends about Bāppā Rāwal*

Of Bāppā and his exploits traditions have preserved many memories. They are necessarily dim and confusing so much so that even the problem whether the term 'Bāppā' used in the inscriptions and

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, pp. 31-32.

4 Tod suggests that the Moris of Chitor were a clan of the Pāramāra.

5 Tod: vol. I, p. 703: "Seventy had elapsed beyond seven hundred years (Samvatsir) when the lord of men, the king of Malwa, formed this lake. "Maheśvara of the race of Tvashṭri; Bhima, his son Bhoja; his son Mān".

family annals, refer to an honorific or personal designation, does not admit of an easy solution. It is not necessary to reproduce here all the different tales connected with the name; but this much is certain that they all agree in that Bāppā captured from Mori prince Mān, the famous and impregnable fort of Chitor. His name has also been associated with a great Brāhmaṇa sage Hārit Rāshi, a devotee of Ekaliṅga Śiva. He seems to have influenced the life of the prince as his spiritual guide and inspired him for the conquest of Chitor⁶.

We are told that during the reign of Bāppā's father⁷ the Bhilas of Idar revolted and killing the Rājā while hunting, regained their independence. It appears reasonable to infer out of the diverse accounts and tales of Bāppā's early life that the loss of the Idar territory greatly affected the resources of the Guhilot kingdom of Nāgdā and compelled Bāppā then a child of tender age and his Purohitas, the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, to face a critical situation and seek shelter at Bhāṇḍér (a hilly fortress 15 miles south-west of Jhārol, a place in the district of Udaipur). Of course, it seems almost absurd to believe these stories⁸ to the extent that the young prince after his father's demise lost everything and had to lead the wild life of a shepherd in the hilly valleys where he married a number of Rajput princesses at play or to have accidentally met Hārit Rāshi, a Saivite hermit while following one of the cows of his herd. The complete extinction of the Guhilot kingdom in the very next reign of the mighty Aparājita seems improbable. It is, no doubt, plausible that during Bāppā's minority Mori prince Mān asserted his overlordship and Bāppā seems to have been reduced to the status of a 'Sāmant' or feudal chief. The bardic narrative of Bāppā's capture of Chitor greatly supports such an assertion. It is hinted that too

6 Nansi's Chronicle leaf 1 and 2; *Rāj Praśasti Mahākāvya* S. 2; *Vir Vinod* pt. I, p. 253; Tod; Vol. I, pp. 264-66; Ojha: *Hist of Raj.*, vol. I, p. 337, foot note 1. Ram Nath Ratnu, *Itihās Rajasthan* (Hindi), pp. 23-25.

7 Tod gives the name of Bāppā's father as Nāgāditya. It is because he identifies Bāppā with Śilāditya.

8 For the popular bardic legends about Bāppā, see Tod, Vol. I, pp. 260-70; Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I, pp. 416-20; Also see Nansi's *Khyāt* (Benaras Edn.) pt. I, p. 11. Udaipur'ki khyāt (Ms) 16 in Dr. Tossitory's Catalogue of bardic works in prose in Bikaner Govt. library; Mewar kā Itihās Ms. 882 and Vamśāvalis of the Rānās, Mss. No. 827 and 828, Saraswati Bhandār, Udaipur.

much favour bestowed upon young Bāppā by Rājā Mān Mori of Chitor excited jealousy in the heart of his other feudatories so much so that they even refused to co-operate with the Rājā when Chitor was invaded by some alien foes. It was during national crisis that young Bāppā got an opportunity to distinguish himself as a great warrior and military general. He conducted the war against the invader, defeated and dispersed him to the great humiliation of the disgruntled nobles, who ultimately recognised his military genius and leadership. It is so recorded by Col. Tod⁹ that he pursued the enemy into Saurāṣṭra and carried his arms as far as Gajni, i.e. Cambay¹⁰, the original home of Guhil's ancestors. Here he inflicted a defeat on the ruler of the place, a barbarian, Salim¹¹ by name, who purchased peace by offering his daughter in marriage to Bāppā. This exploit must have given him a high place in the court of Mori king. Abul Fazl¹² remarks that "his daring was so conspicuous that he became in favour with the Rājā and a trusted minister of state." Having thus strengthened his own hands and lured by the prospects of even conquering Chitor, Bāppā with the support of the revolted 'Sardārs' by a sudden 'coup de etat' either turned out prince Mān and made himself master of the historic fort of Chitor or that the Mori king died childless and Bāppā became king of Chitor. In the present state of our knowledge it is, however, not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the manner of Bāppā's acquisition of Chitor.

3. *The date of Bāppā*

The earliest epigraph¹³ containing a reference to Bāppā is dated 971 A. D. of Raja Naravāhan's time. Though fragmentary its third and fourth verses give a description of the city of Nāgdā and, its fifth verse is devoted to its ruler Bāppā, which runs as follows:—

9 Tod: vol I, p 226.

10 *Ibid.*, vol I, p. 254, ft. note 4.

11 It is likely that Salim is a misreading of some other name. He could not be a Mussalman for though there were settlements of Arab traders in some of our coastal towns yet there was no Muslim Chief holding sway about these times anywhere in India except in Sindh and Multan.

12 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarett), vol. II. p. 268.

13 *Bombay Asiatic Society Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 166-67.

अस्मिन् भूद्गुहिलगोलनरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ।

श्रीवप्पकः.....क्षितिपीठ रत्नम्

ज्याघात घोष... ..

This reference to his name in so old an inscription is significant as it leads one to conclude that Bāppā or Bāpā or Bappaka (as it is variously been pronounced), is not an imaginary name; that he comes after Guhil, is extolled as 'the moon amongst the Guhilot princes' and that his date should be placed somewhere between the years 713 A. D. the date of Mān Mori's Mānsarovar inscription and 971 A. D. of this record.

It so appears that while composing *Ekalingamābhātmya* Māhārānā Kumbhā and Kanha Vyās, his assistant, knew from some earlier epigraph or work, now missing, a definite date about Bāppā, which is mentioned in that work¹³ as follows :—

यदुक्तं पुरातनैः कविभिः ।

आकाशचन्द्रदिग्गजसंख्ये संवत्सरे वभूवाद्यः ।

श्रीएकलिंग शंकर लब्धवरो बाप्प भूपालः ॥

This verse simply mentions that in V. E. 810 by the kind grace of God Ekalinga Śaṅkar, Bāppā was a famous Rājā. It gives no indication as to whether the year 810 V. S. (or 753 A. D.) was the date of his accession, abdication or death. But the difficulty is solved by two remarkable verses in another work of the same name, also called 'Ekalinga Purāṇa' composed in the reign of Rānā Kumbhā's son Raimal (1473-1509 A. D.). It mentions that in V. S. 810 (or 753 A. D.) Bāppā became an ascetic after bestowing royalty on his son¹⁴. This date for Bāppā's abdication deserves credence, as it comes fairly near to Rājā Mān Mori's date in the Mānsarovar record and Bāppā's life may be held to have extended roughly over the first half of the 8th century.

According to Col. Tod¹⁵, Bāppā was born in 713 A. D. occupied Chitor in 728 A. D. at the age of 15 and abdicated in 764 A. D.

13a *Ekalingamābhātmya*, ch. Rajvarma; *Nāgari Pracārini Patrikā*, pt. I, p. 270.

14 *Ekalingamābhātmya*, chapter 20, verse 21-22.

15 Tod: vol. I, pp. 268-71.

राज्यं दत्त्वा स्वपुत्राय आथर्वणमुपागतः । स्वचन्द्रदिग्गजाख्ये च वर्षे नागहृदे मुने ॥२१॥

क्षेत्रे च भुवि विख्याते स्वगुरोर्गुरु दर्शनम् । चकार स समित्पाणि श्वतुर्थाश्रममाचरन् ॥२२॥

Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that the Arab incursion into the Mori kingdom must have taken place sometimes before the date of the Navasāri inscription of 738 A. D. As Bāppā fought as a general of the Mori prince during this event, his accession to the throne of Chitor may be placed about 740 or 730 A. D. If Bāppā was comparatively young at his accession, his birth may be placed about 700 A. D. As Bāppā traditionally ruled long and abdicated at old age Mr. Vaidya¹⁶ holds that 764 A. D. or 820 V. S. is the right date of his abdication.

The domestic annals¹⁷ give the year 191 as the date of Bāppā's accession. Tod relying on certain Jain works has concluded that this date is counted from the year of the sack of Vallabhi; but this explanation does not seem to be convincing. Dr. Ojha¹⁸ is of opinion that Bāppā abdicated in 753 A. D. But he holds that he could not have ascended the throne of Chitor at the young age of 15, and as it implied usurpation and force his accession could not have taken place before 734 A. D. i.e. V. E. 791, when he was 22 years of age. In support of this assertion he puts forth the explanation that the traditional date V. S. 191 of his accession is a misreading of 791, which is plausible as the formation of the numbers 7 and 1 in older records is quite similar and often confusing. Thus it will be seen that there is no substantial difference of opinion among these scholars about Bāppā's date. There can be disagreement with regard to the dates of particular events, but it is agreed that Bāppā's life may be taken to have roughly covered the first half of the 8th century.

4. *Bāppā's Identification: His contemporaries*

As the term 'Bāppā or 'Bappaka' is absent in the genealogy of the Aitpur Prāsasti of Śakti Kumara's reign, dated 977 A. D. only six years later than Naravāhan's inscription, it is quite reasonable to suppose that Bāppā being his title of honour or a popular epithet, he must have been mentioned in that record by his real name. Modern scholars since the days of Col. Tod, taking the term as an honorific, attribute it to different princes of the family who preceded Naravāhan.

16 C. V. Vaidya: *Hist. of M. Hindu Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 338-42.

17 *Raj Prāsasti Mahākāvya*, S. 3; Nansi's Chronicle; *Vir Vinod*, pt. I, p. 234; Most of the bardic works give this date.

18 Ojha: *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I p. 413-14.

Such attempts to ascertain Bāppā's place in the genealogical lists were also made during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription of 1460 A. D.¹⁹, the term has been placed at the fifth place conveying that Śilāditya and Bāppā refer to the same individual. Later bardic works as well as Col. Tod have also adopted the same view. But the recent discovery of Sāmoli inscription of Śila dated 646 A. D. has proved the invalidity of such assertion.

Three more stones from Chitor,²⁰ Ābu²¹ and Ranpur²² of the dates c. 1274, 1285 and 1439 respectively place Bāppā at the first place as father of Guhil which is apparently against all epigraphic, literary and circumstantial evidence. The theory is largely the outcome of a confusion which prevailed in the later times between the founder of the Guhilot family in its extended sense and that of the Chitor branch of it and recorders were not quite sure as to whether the first place should be assigned to Bāppā or to Guhil. Quite recently Mr. C. V. Vaidya,²³ supporting orthodox tradition identified Bāppā with Guhadutta, the first name on the Aitpur inscription. It has been maintained beyond all doubts that Guhil's date lies in the latter half of the 6th century. How, then can he be identified with Bāppā who, according to Mr. Vaidya himself was born about 700 A. D. In support of his view he has regarded Śila and Aparājita the two kings whose inscriptions of the 7th century have been found, as Bāppā's ancestors and that these names in the Aitpur record refer to the 'descendants having the same name'. For establishing a reasonable average for each generation from Bāppā to Śakti Kumar, he has even doubted the authenticity of the Aitpur record saying that 'it may be that the Aitpur inscription repeats some kings wrongly or bring together kings of different branches who were contemporaries.' But there he clearly transgresses the limits of possibility and doubts without adducing any concrete examples the statements of Aitpur record. Mr. Vaidya makes much of 'tradition' that Bāppā was the founder of the dynasty,

19 Ojha: *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I, pp. 407-408.

20 *Bhawnagar 'ns.*, pp. 74-75.

21 *Ind. Anti.*, vol. 16, pp. 347-51.

22 *Bhawnagar Ins.*, pp. 114-15

23 C. V. Vaidya: *Hist. of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. II, pp. 78, 86; 342-348.

but it really means that he established the family at Chitor, not that he was the very first man in the family. In fact, he was the founder of the greatness of the dynasty. This is the most natural interpretation of the epithet 'Guhilagotranarendracandra' in Naravāhan's epigraph of 971 A. D. Mr. Vaidya's view, therefore, is entirely based on misconceptions. The fact that the traditional originator of the family was Guhil is sufficiently borne out by the Nāgdā inscription of Aparājita, the Aitpur inscription, the Chātsu record of Bālāditya, the Chīrwā inscription and the Ekalingaji stone record of 971 A.D. of Rājā Naravāhan's reign.

The compiler of *Rajputānā Gazetteer*²⁴ says, "Mahendra II or Kālbhoj, one of the two, (it is not certain which) was better known as Bāppā." More recently Kavirāj Śyāmal Das in his monumental work *Vir Vinod*²⁵ suggested that Aparājita's successor Mahendra II's name was Bāppā. But this assumption sounds unconvincing as it presupposes 100 years for two reigns. While editing the Aitpur inscription Dr. Bhandarkar²⁶ identified Bāppā with Khummān I and his arguments may be thus summed up. The date for Aparājita being 661 A. D. and for Allaṭṭa 953 A. D., we have 292 years for twelve generations and get an average of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years for each ruler. The difference between 753 A. D., the date of Bāppā's abdication and 661 A.D., the date of Aparājita is 92 years. Applying the same average of 24 years for each generation Bāppā has been identified with Khummān I, in the fourth generation from Aparājita. Prof. S. C. Dutt²⁷ is also of the same opinion. He further argues that the importance, the name Khummān has been given in the history of the family, some of the early inscriptions even referring the rulers of Mewar as descendants of Khummān and the traditional utterance of 'Khumman aid you' often uttered in Mewar when one makes a false step or even sneeze as well as the title 'Khumman Rāso' of a big historical poem dealing with the exploits of the Gahilots, all these combined to prove the contention that Bāppā and Khummān I refer to the same ruler.

24 Erskine, Major K. D.,: R. G. Vol. II A, p. 8

25 *Vir Vinod*, pt. I, p. 250.

26 *Ind. Anti.*, vol. 39, p. 190.

27 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, p. 797.

Dr. G. H. Ojha²⁸ maintains that Bāppā should be identified with Kālbhoja. He objects to Dr. Bhandarkar's view principally on two grounds; first, tradition in Mewar describes Khummān as Bāppā's son; secondly, Dr. Bhandarkar's average of 24 years for each generation is questionable and is against historical canons. More recently Dr. Bhandarkar²⁹ has urged that as the name of 'Guhilputra Siṃha' is coupled with Hārit Rāshi in an inscription of the time of Samar Singh dated 1278 A. D. he is probably identical with the traditional Bāppā of the family. In a paper G. Raychaudhuri³⁰ has tried to establish on the basis of a remarkable passage in the *Kumbhalgarh Prasasti*, that Bāppā and Aparājita refer to the same individual.

There are conflicting views regarding the identification of Bāppā and the truth is yet to be ascertained. Traditionally Bāppā is represented as a descendant of Guhil in the eighth generation, a renowned archer who conquered Chitor from Mori Rājā Mān, a disciple of Hārit Rāshi and a devotee of Ekaliṅga Śaṅkar whose historic temple he erected near Nāgdā.³¹ Col. Tod³² mentions that shortly after his conquest of Chitor he led an expedition to Chaul, defeated its ruler who offered his daughter³³ in marriage to him and that after a long and prosperous reign he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Khummān.

The eighth successor of Guhil in the more reliable genealogies is Kālbhoja. The *Aitpur Prasasti*,³⁴ the oldest of them all and the

28 Ojha: *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I, pp. 409-10

29 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XX, App. 84 n.

30 *Indian History Congress, 1938 session proceedings*, p. 209.

31 See Tod: vol. I, p. 259.

32 Tod: vol. I, pp. 282-83. The name of the ruler of Chaul is given as Yusufgol, who was the prince of Bandardiv (island of Diu) who held Chaul on the mainland. Tod says he was most probably the father of Van Raj Chawara, the founder of Patan Anhilwara. Crooke comments that Van Raj was son of Jaya Shekhar who is said to have been slain in battle in A. D. 696, leaving his wife pregnant. Yusufgol, if he existed, must have been an Arab. The name does not appear in the local history. See Tod: vol. I, p. 282 foot note 2.

33. She brought with her as a part of her dowry, the statue of the tutelary Goddess Vyān Mātā so popularly invoked even now throughout the kingdom.

34 *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, vol. 39, p. 191.

most perfect too, describes the eighth name as 'the sun amongst the princes of the line! Moreover, the fifth verse of Naravāhan's inscription quoted above though fragmentary praises Bāppā's proficiency as an archer, whereas a similar description is attributed to Kālhbhoja in a verse of the Acaleswar temple inscription on Mt. Ābu of Rānā Samar Singh's time dated 1285 A. D.³⁵ The first line of this verse states that Kālhbhoja wedded the Chaul woman and was the 'chief among the line of princes of his dynasty'. The verse runs as follows :—

चोडछीरतिखण्डनः कुलनृपश्रेणीशिरोमण्डनः
 कर्णाटेश्वर दण्डनः प्रभुकुला मैत्री मनोनन्दनः ।
 तत्सूनुनयममैनर्म सचिवः श्रीकालभोज दमा-
 पालः कालकराल कर्कश धनुर्दण्डः प्रचंडोऽजनि ॥

This verse clearly mentions that Kālhbhoja was a great archer and that he married a princess of Chaul. Now, as traditionally Bāppā is said to have defeated the ruler of Chaul and married his daughter, as referred to above it is proved beyond all doubts that the two, i.e. Kālhbhoja and Bāppā should be identical.

The view that Kālhbhoja was known as Bāppā is again confirmed by the fact that Col. Tod³⁶, writing on Kālhbhoja, records in a footnote that "he was also called Karṇa and that he it was who excavated the Borailā lake, and erected the grand temple of Ekaliṅga on the site of the hermitage of Hārīta...." It is unanimously believed in Mewar that Bāppā was a disciple of Hārīta and that it was he who built the famous temple of Ekaliṅga Śiva. Col. Tod's statement is in harmony with the tradition still current in Mewar and it was somehow known to him that the name of the builder of Ekaliṅga temple was Kālhbhoja who for his bravery and proficiency as an archer was also called Karṇa. This places beyond all doubts the contention that Kālhbhoja and Bāppā refer to the same individual.

The tradition that Khummān was the son and successor of Bāppā has been recorded in almost all important inscriptions and bardic works³⁷ and according to Dr. G. H. Ojha, it also forms a convincing reason to believe that as Kālhbhoja's name precedes that of Khummān I

35 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 16, pp. 347-51.

36 Tod: vol. I, p. 283 ft. note 2.

37 *Raj Prasasti Mahākāvya*, S. 3. ; Nansi's chronicle sheet 1, p. 2.

in the Aitpur record he is beyond all doubts to be identified with the traditional Bāppā. Of course, this assertion presupposes a period of 100 years for the three generations of Aparājita, Mahendra II and Kālhbhoja which historically though rare, is not an impossibility. On the basis of these arguments it can be maintained that Bāppā's real name was Kālhbhoja. It was not uncommon for the Rājput kings of those times to adopt such epithets³⁸ that became so popularly current in their own life time as to be used in the epigraphs and coins in place of their real name. It seems that Kālhbhoja was a mere child, as the tradition asserts, when his father was killed by the revolting Bhilas of Idar, and so he was popularly called 'Bāpu' for a long time which term in Mewar means a 'child' and by this very term or its other variants he became known more than by his real name.

It is possible to trace the names of some of the contemporaries of Kālhbhoja *alias* Bāppā in the inscriptions available to us. The two more notable among them are Cāhamān prince Durlabha I also known as Dulā Rāi of Śākambhari or Sāmbhar, and Nāgabhaṭṭa I, the Gurjara Pratihāra whose home territory according to *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*³⁹ was Avanti or the kingdom of Malwa⁴⁰. The stronghold of Māṇḍavyapur or Mandor (near Jodhpur) was then held by the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra Śiluka⁴¹, whereas Gurjaradeśa or Gujrata and Bhinmāl in Mārwar were under the Chāwḍā Rājputs. The principality of Lāṭa in Kāthiāwar

38 Raja Bhoja Deva I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra of Kanauj was known as 'Ādi Varāha' which epithet he got inscribed on his coins and on the Gwalior Inscription of c. 875. (see Smith, Catalogue of Coins in Calcutta Museum, p. 241; *EL.*, vol. 5, p. 156. Raja Bhoja Parmar of Malwa adopted the title of Tribhuvan Narain.

39 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 25, p. 141 see also *EL.*, vol. XIII, pp. 102-3.

40 For Nāgabhaṭṭa's date, see Hansot Copper plate of Cāhamān Bhartṛvra-
dha of Broach dated 756 A. D. (*EL.*, vol. XII, pp. 202-203). The same record mentions that Cāhamān Durlabha I's son and successor Gūvaka I was his feudatory. Also see V, N. Reu *Bharat ke Pracheen Rajavṃśa* (Hindi) pt. I, p. 230; Tod: vol I, p. 228 and ft. note 1; and vol II, p. 426. Tod gives the name of Cāhamān prince as Manik Rāi though he also mentions that Dulā Rāi and his son were surprised and slain by the Muslim invader from Sindh.

41 *JRAS.*, London. 1894, p. 4. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Rāja Bāuka dated 837 A.D.

was ruled over by Solanki Mangal Rāj and after him by his brother Pulikesi II whose known dates are 731 A. D. and 739 A. D. respectively. The portions of Jaisalmer and Bhāwalpur were then in the possession of Deva Raj Bhāṭṭi.

5. *Bāppā's fight with the Arabs: Tod's account examined*

About these very times during the Caliphate of Walid (c. 690-715) the Arabs under the command of Muhammad bin Qāsim overran the whole of the Indus valley, defeated Dāhir the Brāhmin ruler of Sindh, and made the provinces of Sindh and Multān appanages to the Muslim empire in 712 A. D. Col. Tod and some other modern writers⁴², who dittoed his version without examining it, maintain that Bāppā as 'Sāmant' of Mori Rājā Mān fought Muhammad bin Qāsim when the latter made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the interior of Rajputānā. But such an assertion deserves no credence for two reasons: firstly, it is now established beyond all doubts that Muhammad bin Qāsim never invaded Chitor in the heart of Rajputānā; the Caliph Walid I did not render tributary all that part of India on this side of the Ganges; and the invader was never on the eve of carrying war against Rājā Harchand of Kanauj⁴³, much less did he actually prosecute it. Secondly, as we have first shown Bāppā was born in the first decade of the 8th century and at the time of this Arab invasion he must have been a mere child of five or six years of age at the most.

In fact, Muhammad bin Qāsim's career of conquest was soon brought to a close by his sudden recall and imprisonment at Wasit in Mesopotamia and the sway of the Arab Musalmans remained confined to Sindh and Multan, the inhospitable corner of India which they could conquer and dominate during this period. The Caliphs continued to send governors over Sindh, and the degree of authority

42 Tod: vol. I, p. 270; S. R. Sharma, *Mahārānā Pratap*, p. 6; James H. Gense S. J., *History of India*, p. 88.

43 *CHI.*, vol. III, pp. 6, 7. After the capture of Multan in 713 A. D. Md. bin Qāsim is said to have become involved in hostilities with Har Chandra of Qinnauj and marched to meet him at Odipur. This Qinnauj need not be confounded with the great city of Kanauj in Hindustan. It is a place in Upper Sindh and Odipur is 14 miles southward of Alwan on the Ghaggar.

which they exercised must have varied according to the personality and ability of these officers. There is evidence to show that some of these governors tried to extend their sway in western India from their posts in Sindh. It can also safely be surmised that the Hindu Rājās of Gujrāt and Rājasthān must have measured swords with them. Detailed information of these expeditions are neither available in the Muslim chronicles nor in other Indian works of those times, yet there are brief incidental references to these raids of the Arabs from Sindh in some of the contemporary inscriptions, copper plates and the works of the Arab geographers which confirm the bardic traditions that have come down to us from the past.

6. *Junaid's invasion of Western India (725 A.D.):*

His fight with Rāppā and its significance

Among the successors of Muhammad bin Qāsim in Sindh the most active and energetic was Junaid (c. 717-26 A. D.) who adopted a vigorous policy of aggressive conquests and made raids on some parts of Hindustan. Al Bilāduri in his work 'Fatuhul Baldān'⁴⁴ informs us that having defeated and killed Dāhir's son Hullishāh or Jaisāh in a naval battle sometime after 725 A. D. 'he sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Dahnāj and Broach. Junaid used to say, "It is better to die with bravado than with resignation." He sent a force against Ujjain and he also sent Habid son of Marra with an army against the country of Malibā. They made incursions against Ujjain and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Baimān and Juzr, and received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.' The places⁴⁵ invaded by him or his generals have not satisfactorily been identified, yet this much is certain that his forces entered Mārwar and raiding Bhinmāl and Bādmēr (both in the southern

44 Elliot: vol. I, p. 126 and p. 441, Miss Mabel Duff in the book 'Chronology of India' p. 62 gives 724 A. D. as the year of this expedition.

45 Dr. Bhagwanlal Indarji identifies Marmad with Marumad or Marwar; Mandal as the place of that name near Viramgam, Barus is Broach, Maliba is same as Malwa; Baharimad is Mewad; Baimān is Bhinmāl and Juzr to be Gujrat, (*Bombay Gazetteer*, pt. I, 109) Baharimad can also be Bahadmeru or Bādmēr in Jodhpur division which is so called after its founder Bāhad (*Indian Gazetteer*, VII, p. 22)

portion of the Jodhpur division) proceeded as far as Mālwa and Ujjain and finally returned through Gujrāt. These Arab raids were undertaken during the term of Caliphate of Hasham whose dates are 724 to 743 A. D. During these years Mārwar and Bhinmāl (which was the capital city of Gurjaradesa) were under the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra dynasty of Mandor and the Chawdā Rājputs respectively; whereas Chitor and Sāmbhar were held by Mori Rājā Mān and Durlabha I respectively. In this round of conquest the Arab troops must have surprised and measured swords with these rulers of Rajputānā. Fortunately, the bardic tradition as recorded by Col. Tod⁴⁶ informs that Durlabha Rāi, popularly called Doolā Rāi, the Cauhān Rājā of Sāmbhar was first attacked by the Muhammadans. Doolā Rāi was slain, and his only child Lot, then infant of seven years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlements. The importance of this event has been deeply impressed on the Cauhāns, who have deified the youthful heir. The day on which he was killed is sanctified and his effigy is given divine honours.

The Chāwdā dynasty of Bhinmāl, the Pratihāras of Mandor and the Moris of Chitor also seem to have greatly been affected by the bold incursion of this Arab governor of Sindh. This is confirmed by the Navsāri copper plate of Solanki Pulikesi II of Lāṭa dated 738 A. D.⁴⁷ which distinctly mentions an Arab invasion in the course of which the invaders (referred to as 'Tajikas') having destroyed with their swords Sindh, Cutch and Saurāṣṭra and the dominions of the Cāvotakas or Chāwdās, Mauryas and the Gurjaras wanted to enter the Deccan but their victorious march received a set back in Gujrat when at Navsārika or Navasāri they were defeated and dispersed by the brave Pulikesi or Lāṭa who became master of his Jagir between 731 and 739 A. D. The original text of the lines is as follows:—

तरलतरतार वारिदारितोदित सैन्धवकच्छेन्नसोराष्ट्र चावोटकमौर्य गुर्जरादिराज्ये निःशेष-
दाक्षिणात्यपतिजिगीषया दक्षिणापथ प्रवेश...प्रथममेव नवसारीका विषयप्रसाधनायगतेत्वरित
तुरगखरमुखरखरोत्खात धरणि धूलिधूसरित दिगन्तरे...

This inscriptional reference to the Arab expedition described by Bilāduri makes it almost certain that the soldiers of Junaid fought on

46 Tod: vol. II. p. 426.

47 Vienna Congress Proceedings, Aryan section, p. 230; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 465; *Nāgari Pracārini Patrikā*, pt. I. pp 210-11.

this occasion, while passing through Rajputānā, with the Cāhamān prince of Sambhar, the Chāwdās of Bhinmal and the Mauryas or Maris of Chitor. As traditions unanimously declare that Bāppā fought with the alien invader supposed to be the Arabs from Sindh about these very times one becomes pretty certain that he must have had a clash with Junaid or his men when the latter entered into Marwar and crossed southern Rajputānā on their way to Mālwa and Gujrāt. The invader is said to have threatened Chitor, the capital of Mori Rājā Mān and the young Bāppā emerged out of this crisis as a saviour; he defeated the enemies and thereby got his chance to capture the throne of Chitor for himself from the effete Mori prince either soon after this event in 726 A. D. or sometimes after in 733 A. D. In Malwa (Ujjain) Gurjara Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa I proved more than a match for them and seems to have defeated and dispersed the Arabs. This is fully in keeping with the account of Bilāduri who observes, "they (i.e. the Arabs) made incursions against Ujjain and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Bailman and Juzr". Thus whereas other places were actually invested and destroyed or captured, the Arabs merely sent incursions against Ujjain and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their exploits against Ujjain and Malwa. It is also significant that the Navasāri plate do not include the king of Avanti in the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs. Further, Bilāduri himself admits that Junaid's successor 'Tamim' (726 A. D.) was feeble and, in his days, the Musalmans retired from several parts of India and left some of their possessions. This is corroborated by the Gwalior Praśasti⁴⁸ of the days of Pratihāra Bhojadeva I (836-893 A.D.) attributed to the latter half of the 9th century which recorded that the 'Baluci Mlecchas were defeated by the brave Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa I or Nāgavaloka as he was also called. The lines are :—

तद्वंशे प्रतिहारकेतनभृति वैलोक्य रक्षास्पदे
देवी नागभटः पुरातनमूर्तिव्वर्ध्वाद्भुतम् ।
येनासौ सुकृत प्रमाथि वलचम्लेच्छधिपाक्षौहिणीः
लुन्दानस्फुरदुग्रहेतिरुचिरैर्द्विभ्रतुभिस्त्वभौ ॥

Thus all the available evidence shows that Nāgabhaṭṭa I established

the greatness of his family by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānsot plate of the Cāhamān feudatory Bhartṛvṛdha II records a grant that was made at Broach, in the prospering reign of victory of the glorious Nāgabhaṭṭa in the year 756 A.D. It would then follow that he established the Pratihāra supremacy over Broach which the Chāwdās or the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra family of Mandor must have lost during the Arab raids.

The exploits of Junaid, therefore, proved significant in more than one way. Firstly, they provided an opportunity for the rise of the Gurjara Pratihāras under Nāgabhaṭṭa I who captured Bhinmāl from the Chawdas and subordinated the Cauhāns of Sāmbhar and the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras of Mandor soon after their discomfiture at the hands of the Arabs. Secondly, the occasion of these attacks enabled young Bāppā to establish himself at Chitor which was wrested from the Mori Rājā Mān as an indirect result of this Arab invasion. Though the adventurous march of Junaid proved of less political success and gains for him, and the storm passed away as quickly as it came, yet for the political revolutions that followed as indirect consequences of these raids, deserve the attention of the scholars.

Out of this struggle of Bāppā with the Arabs of Sind under Junaid, therefore, emerged out the Guhilot kingdom of Medpāta⁴⁹ which has withstood twelve centuries of warfare and survived the mighty revolutions that have swept over India. For many years Bāppā ruled Chitor, married many wives and had many children. In 753 A.D. he abdicated in favour of his son Khummān I, himself retiring to the Ekaliṅga temple to pass the rest of his days as an ascetic.⁵⁰ The spirit of independence of a Hindu kingdom and the

49 "The counry which was in battle, totally submerged in the dripping fat (Medas) of wicked people by Bappaka—bears the name of Sri Medapāta"—Acalaśwara Inscription, A.D. 1285 (*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscription of Kathiwar*, pp. 88-89).

50 Another tradition expressing that after placing his favourite son on the throne of Mewar Bāppā led an army into the north-west of the counry and founded another kingdom somewhere in Khurasan or Afghanistan can conveniently be rejected as unhistorical for want of evidence in its support.

Tod: vol. I, p. 268, ft. note. Crooke says "...the whole story is a mere legend, a tale like that of the mysterious disappearance of Romulus and other kings. It has been suggested that this legend is mixed up with that of Bāppā

policy of armed resistance bequeathed by Bāppā against the advancing wave of Islamic expansion was faithfully carried out by his descendants; and no hostile Muslim army, that set its foot on the soil of Mewar, was allowed to pass unmolested.

The history of Mewar is obscure till 1193 A.D. Inscriptions reveal that during the period from 753 to 1000 A.D. seven Rājās succeeded mighty Bāppā, of whom three kings were of the name of Khummān. But bardic Khyats and Col. Tod on their basis mention only one king of this name and thus confuse the accounts of the different kings of the same name.

(To be continued)

M. L. MATHUR

or Śīla of Vallabhi, the story of his retreat to Iran representing the later being carried as a captive to Mansura on the fall of Vallabhi".

Iconography of some Minor Deities in Jainism

In Jainism, more than in any other of the principal religious sects in India, we have a number of deities assimilated in the pantheon, which bear a close similarity with some of the divinities in Brahmanic Hinduism. These deities are really speaking later absorptions in the sect from orthodox Hinduism with modified attributes and iconography. Nevertheless, these have an important place in the hierarchy of gods in Jainism with definite and important functions assigned to them. While, therefore, in Jainism the 24 Man-gods, the Tīrthaṅkaras, form the highest objects of worship with the Śāsana-devatās, showing important and interesting iconography for each one of them with a religious legend mostly forming the background, there are others who though minor in importance should demand our attention for their peculiar iconography and functions. This paper proposes to take up the iconographic study of some of these functionary deities who partaking of the character of Yakṣas and divinities have been accepted as popular deities in Jainism.

Sarvālha (Or Sarvāhna) Yakṣa

Apart from the group of gods going by the name of Kṣetrapāla, Jainism, however, knew of a few other gods who were put in charge of the protection of buildings. There were a few Yakṣa types worshipped with great arduousness during the consecration ceremony of temples and other sacred buildings. One of such Yakṣa types is Sarvālha Yakṣa. He is specially associated with the flag-hoisting ceremony which forms a part of Jain temple-worship. The presiding deity of the flag is said to ascend along with Sarvālha Yakṣa who forms there the principal deity.

The Yakṣa has been described¹ as of a dark hue and seated on an elephant with the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara on the crest. According

1 Cf. *Śyāmaṁ Jināṅkamukutaṁ dviradādhirūḍhaṁ*
Hastadvayenaracitāñjalimūḍhamānam
Anyena mūrdhani nījā (?) Jinā-)ṅkita-Dharmacakram
Sarvālha-yakṣamiha sādaramābhuyāmi
— Ms., Dharampura Temple, Delhi



Fig. 1
Sarvaḥṇya



Fig. 2
Brahmaṣanti



Fig. 3
Naigamesa, from Mathura

to the text under reference the Yakṣa has a pair of hands making up an *añjali* (folded). He bears on the head the Dharmacakra marked with the figure of a Jina. A Digambara tradition recorded in *Trilokasāra* of the 10th cent. A.D. lays down that figures of Sarvālha (or Sarvāhna) Yakṣa should be shown in a Jina sculpture².

The form of the Yakṣa in the Digambara sect in a tradition of South India makes him four-handed with a goad (*aṅkuśa*) in the upper right hand and a noose (*pāśa*) in the upper left while the lower right and left are respectively in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Such an image³ is in the collection of the temple at Tiruparuttikuṇṇam, and is dated in the early 17th cent. A.D. This piece of sculpture apparently of the Digambara sect conforms, however, to the description of the Yakṣa Gomedha attached to Neminātha, except for the *vāhana* which is an elephant for Gomedha according to Hemacandra but which is shown to be a bull in the image under reference. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the form Gomedha as obtained in the Svetāmbara sect and that of Sarvāhna which apparently as an independent deity has an iconography of its own, but which as the Digambara correspondence of Gomedha, offers a different iconographical study altogether. In this connection attention is drawn to Sarvāhna, the Yakṣa of Neminātha, for the distinctive forms of iconography.

Brahmaśānti Yakṣa

Apart from Sarvālha Yakṣa we have an important figure of a Yakṣa in Brahmaśānti. This Yakṣa has particular connection with Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthaṅkara.

In the *Śāntistuti* of an anonymous writer we have the mention of⁴ Brahmaśānti Yakṣa in connection with the adoration of Śāntinātha. The stories and anecdotes about Brahmaśānti go to connect the deity to a hoary past. The origin of the deity is said to be like this.

² *Trilokasāra*, VI, 989, cf.

Siridevi Sudadevi Savvahnna-Sanakkumarajakṣhanam
Ruvani ya Jinapase maṅgalamatthavibhamati bodi.

³ See pl. I, fig. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Jayavijayaṃ maṇiśā mandiraṃ Brahmaśāntiḥ*
Suragirisamadhirah pūjito'nyakṣayakṣiḥ.

— *Jaina-Stotra-Sangraha*, Śāntistuti. p. 29.

Yakṣa Sūlapāṇi was called Brahmasānti Yakṣa after the former had become a devotee of Mahāvīra on being taken to task for false pretensions.

The iconographic details as given in a Śvetāmbara tradition are as follows. He is to have a grey colour with a face gruesome on account of the fierce protruding tusk. He is adorned with a *jaṭāmukuta* and sits on a *bhadrāsana* with a sacred thread hanging over the shoulders. He wears a pair of slippers and has four hands with the right hands holding a rosary of beads and a staff and the left pair having a water-pot (*kuṇḍikā*) and an umbrella⁵. On a palm leaf ms. written in Sam. 1218 and preserved in Chani, Baroda, there is a miniature figure⁶ of Brahmasānti Yakṣa measuring 2-1" × 2-3/8". The figure which is gruesome is four-handed. The upper right hand holds an umbrella, the lower holding a book; the upper left hand holds a staff (*daṇḍa*), the lower being shown in *varada* pose. The *vāhana*, a swan, is clearly shown and the figure sits on a *bhadrāsana* in the *lalitāsana* pose with the right leg dangling down. The figure has a long beard with a *mukuta* on the head and a halo is marked at the back. Another similar figure is to be seen in fig. 41, pl. XII—*Jainacitrakalpadruma*.

In the Bhandars at Patna there is a plam-leaf ms. of *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakakathā* written in V.S. 1336 (1279 A.D.). On page 151 of this ms. is a figure⁷ of Brahmasānti Yakṣa mistakenly identified by Brown as Śakra⁸. The figure as noted above is four-handed, the upper right hand holds a staff (*daṇḍa*) the lower right, the *kamaṇḍalu*, while the upper left hand holds the *chatra* and the lower left shows the *vyākhyāna mudrā*. The colour of the figure in the portrait is yellow. The deity takes his seat on a *bhadrāsana* as mentioned in the *Nirvāṇakalikā* quoted above. The *vāhana* of the deity is an elephant which is shown below his right foot.

5 Cf. *Brahmasāntim piṅgavarṇam daṁṣṭrākarālam jaṭāmukutaṃmaṇḍitam pādukārūḍham bhadrāsanaṣṭhitam upavītālaṃkṛtastandham caturbbujam akṣasūtra-daṇḍakāṇvitadakṣiṇapāṇim kuṇḍikāchatrālaṃkṛtā vāmapāṇim ceti.*—*Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 38.

6 See pl. I, fig. 2.

7 See pl. xv, fig. 48—*Jainacitrakalpadruma*.

8 *The Story of Kālaka*, p. 120.



Fig. 1
Naigamesa, transferring the embryo



Fig. 2
Naigamesa, with the *vabana*



Fig. 3



Fig. 4
Kapardi

Harinaigameṣa or Naigameṣa

Naigameṣa, or Nemeṣa, as the deity is called, is known as the foremost servant of Indra who is a constant benefactor of the Arhats. Naigameṣa is a peculiar sort of a Jain demi-god with an animal head. It is interesting however to notice an ideological similarity between this Jain deity and Dakṣa Prajāpati of Brahmanic mythology. Naigameṣa is said to be a divine commandar of army represented in art as a male figure with the head of a goat. It is wrong to connect the deity with an antelope or a ram for neither the name itself nor the form in art guarantees such a conclusion. The Mathura representation of the deity as discussed below with long dangling ears proves definitely that the figure bears a goat's head. A singularly well-known figure in a broken frieze is unearthed from the Jain site at Mathura⁹. In that figure which on stylistic grounds and on grounds of the palaeography of the inscription that labels the deity has been assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period, or more precisely to the beginning of the Christian era,¹⁰ the deity is given a goat's head and has on its left side a child shown naked touching its left knee. The deity sits in the *ardhaparyāṅka āsana* with the left leg dangling down from a seat below which are placed certain offerings. The deity wears a *valaya*, an *aṅgada* as well as a thick *bāra*. There are traces of two figures, one on each side of his two shoulders, probably a child on each side, as can be inferred from another figure (No.U50) of the same deity where the goat-headed deity carries a child on each shoulder. The latter image is unearthed from Ganesa tank at Mathura, a site also belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period¹¹.

In the inscriptions that accompany the Naigameṣa figure, the latter is called a Lord (-Bhagavān, Bhagavā Nemeṣo), implying the divine character of the deity.

Oldest canonical literature of the Jains like the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Antagaḍadasāo Sūtra* mentions this god and his activities. The miraculous function that Naigameṣa performs in transferring¹² the embryo of the Brāhmaṇi Devānandā to Triśalā, the Kṣatriyāṇī, really

9 See pl. I, fig. 3.

10 *ASR.*, vol. XX pl. IV, 5; see also, J. Ph. Vogel, *Cat. of Arch. Mus. at Mathurā*, pp 107 & 200.

11 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

12 See pl. II, fig. 1.

reminds one of the character of Yakṣas of ancient Indian literature who were endowed with supernatural powers and were noted for their miraculous feats. In fact, Naigamesa as a Yakṣa presiding over Pāñcālī is mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*¹³. The Brahmanic *Harivamśa* mentions Naigameya as a younger brother of Kumāra (Kārtikeya)¹⁴. The *Antagaḍaśāo Sūtra* refers to an image of the deity made by Sulasā. The *Nemināthacaritra* mentions Harinaigameṣin as being propitiated by Kṛṣṇa in order to have the desire of Satyabhāmā to get a son fulfilled. There Naigamesin is called a *tridaśa* (i.e., a god). The name Naigamesa which is actually mentioned in the present context is significant and the story, referred to above which connects him with Hari (Kṛṣṇa) explains the other generally popular name Harinaigamesin. The story goes on to say that Kṛṣṇa propitiated Naigameṣin who being pleased handed over his necklace, which he wears, to Kṛṣṇa for giving it to Satyabhāmā for obtaining the desired child¹⁵. This explains the intimate connection of Hari as the devotee with Naigamesin as the worshipped one. It is, therefore, wrong to analyse the name into Harina and a second part connecting the deity with the head of an antelope¹⁶. The Mathura image of Naigamesin shows clearly the *bāra* which appears to be a double-jewelled one as worn by the deity close to the neck. In a painting on the *Kalpasūtra* ms. Naigamesin is also represented as wearing a conspicuously large *bāra* (necklace) which he is further shown to place his left hand on. This most probably is the *vāsuka* referred to in the *Nemināthacaritra*.

13 V. S. Agrawal: *The Geographical Contents of the Mahāmāyūrī* (Jour., U. P. Hist. Society, vol. XV, pt. II), p. 28—*Naigameśaśca Pāñcālīyām*.

14 *Harivamśa*, Ch. III, Tr. by D. N. Bose, p. 9.

15 Cf. *Kṛṣṇastadāgraham jñātvā tridaśam Naigameṣiṇam*
Uddiśyāṣṭamabbaktena paṇṣadhāṃ pratyapādyata
Āvirbhūya Naigameṣi tamūce kiṃ karomi te
Kṛṣṇoppyuvāca Bhāmāyai dehi Pradyumnavatsutam
Naigameṣyavadadyasyām putrecchā te bhajasva tām
Tuamamum hāramāmocyā tato bhāvīpsitaḥ sutaḥ
Arpayitvā dhṛtam hāram Naigameṣi tirodadhe
Vāsukam Vasudevopi Satyāyai mudito dadau, vv. 11-14

—*Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 314-315.

16 *Kalpasūtra* (Tr. by F. Max Muller), p. 227, fn. 1

This most probably forms an essential feature in the iconography of the deity.

A beautiful representation of the god is obtained on the ms. referred to above. N. Brown in a publisher's note describes the head of the deity as either of a goat or an antelope. The *vāhana* of the deity, a peacock, is given there, on which the right foot of the deity is placed¹⁷. This *vāhana* is also noticed in another ms. painting where the left hand of the deity holds the embryo and the right hand is shown in the pose of 'nodding'¹⁸. This feature also seems to have been absorbed in the iconography of the deity as can be inferred from numerous representations of the god in painting etc. In the ms. painting referred to above¹⁹ the deity is shown with his right hand holding the *kamala* and in the posture of running (with the embryo).

So far as the symbolism of the *vāhana*, *mayūra*, is concerned we draw the attention of scholars to the description of the deity as the 'divine commander of the foot-troops' of Indra, obtained in the *Kalpasūtra*.²⁰ This latter feature is sufficient to connect the deity with the symbols associated generally with the divine commander in the Brahmanic mythology viz., Kārtikeya, who rides on a peacock. In this connection it is interesting to point out that the Brahmanic prototype of the Jain deity is also worshipped in the Puranic mythology for obtaining children.

Further, the connection, however remote, of this Jain deity of pro-creation is betrayed in the iconographic features of the goat's head that is given to him. According to Puranic mythology Dakṣa Prajāpati as the highest deity presiding over the principle of Creation has also the goat's head. After the self-immolation of Satī, Śiva pursued Dakṣa who fled in the form of a deer who was beheaded by the former ultimately. According to a second tradition Dakṣa is described to have been born from a thread of hair of the enraged Śiva who in his wrath cut off the deity's head and substituted that of a goat for it.

17 See pl. II, fig. 2.

18 See also, pl. II, Fig. 3.

19 See pl. II, fig. 2.

20 *Kalpasūtra*, (Text, Ed. by H. Jacobi) par. 27; Tr. by H. Jacobi, *SBE.*, XXII, p. 227.

Form of Taxation as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

During his archaeological expeditions in Central Asia, Sir A. Stein was able to unearth a mass of archaeological wealth (at the ruined sites of Shan Shan kingdom (i.e. *Niya*, *Endere* and *Loulan*) in the shape of *Kharoṣṭhī* documents on wooden tablets, leather and silk fragments and a few paper manuscripts. These documents¹ pertaining to the everyday life of the people in distant regions of Chinese Turkestan are a storehouse of information regarding social, religious, political and economic life of the area from second to fourth century A.D.

Technical terms of taxes:—(1) *Palpi* was also read as *palyi*² (Burrow in *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 675) and identified (Prof. Lüders in *Acta Orientalia*, XVIII, 1939, pp. 15-16) with *pali*³ of the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription. Tracing its derivation from Skt. *bali*, Dr. Burrow (*JRAS.*, *op. cit.*) opines that the word *palpi* was borrowed into the popular language of Shan Shan and was no longer felt as a Skt. word⁴. In fact Skt. *bali* came to be used in the sense of “tax in general” only in a period later than the *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*⁵. But in

ABBREVIATIONS USED:—

- I. No. or KI, = Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by A. Stein in I-II-III Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, vols. I, II, III (Text only).
- II. Trans. = Burrow. T., *A Translation of Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London.
- III. Language. = Burrow. T., *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1937). Cambridge.
- IV. BSOS. = Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London.
- V. JBRS. = Journal of Behar Research Society, Patna.

1 Out of these 782 documents, 764 have been published in three volumes of *KI.*, while 18 more in *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 111 ff.

2 Also *palpiya* (no. 42) = *palpi* (*Language*, p. 3).

3 H. W. Bailey (*BSOS.*, XI, p. 793) reads *pali* in nos. 713, 714 and interprets it to mean ‘Tax’.

4 Cf. *Language*, p. 104; *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 647; *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 63; *Journal of Greater India Society*, Calcutta, XI p. 62.

5 Ghoshal. U. N, *Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 290, *Rayaka palpi* (no. 317) perhaps denoted ‘royal tax’ (cf. *Trans.*, p. 59).

document no. 713 we find the use of *palpi* as a tax paid by a tenant or tiller of the soil to a landlord. It has never been taken to mean either a voluntary gift or a tribute⁶ or a compulsory contribution or any religious tax (cf. *Trans.*, p. 69, no. 357).

(ii) *Samarena*, *Tsamghina* and *Kvemamḍhina*—all occurring in no. 164 were perhaps various taxes on royal lands. In no. 272, *tsamghina* and *ko(yimamḍhina)* have been enumerated as corns (cf. *Trans.*, p. 49). This led Burrow (*Language*, p. 96) to opine that “possibly *tsamghina* is an epithet describing a particular class of grain collected as tax and the *tsamghinava* the official connected with it...”. In no. 315, in a matter concerning the *tsamghina* tax, the *tsamghinavas*⁷ were to swear an oath.

Document no. 775 (*BSOS*, IX, p. 119) refers to an officer called *koyima(m)*⁸ whose duty was to collect corn of this very name.

(iii) *Vega-kilme palpi* (nos. 714, 211; *Vega kilmi palpi* in no. 165) is quite an obscure phrase. According to Prof. F.W. Thomas (*Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 63) “there were special rules for the working of *Kilmes* and administration thereof was sometimes assumed by women which was undesirable.... A *Vega kilme* was an allotment irrigated by running water”. Burrow of course differs from this interpretation (cf. *Language*, pp. 116, 123; *Trans.*, p. 32)⁹.

(iv) *Vaka* (nos. 496, 559; *vaga* in no. 574). From nos. 559 and 574 Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 117; *Trans.*, p. 116) concluded that *vaka amna* (ie. *vaka* corn) was that “part of produce which is paid to the owner of the land” as rent for it¹⁰. Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, 1942, Calcutta, p. 240) tries to identify *bhuma na vaka amna* with *bhūni navajāta śasya* which may denote that fresh

6 Cf. Thomas as cited in *KI.*, III, p. 379.

7 In no. 579, it is an epithet and does not refer to any relation with taxation work.

8 Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 119, f.n. 2; no. 38.

9 It seems rather difficult to justify the obligations concerning *Vega kilme* (*Vega kilme dhanā* as referred to in document no. 481 and interpreted by Burrow in *Language*, p. 116).

10 Cf. *Trans.*, p. 97, no. 498 where land, if given to others for ploughing, was sure to fetch 2 *khis* of ghee as *vaka*. It is better to read *vaka na gidemi* instead of *vaka gidemi*. There is also reference to a specific demand of *vaga amna* from the land (no. 574) and some decision concerning *vaka amna* (no. 559).

corn¹¹ produced from the land was to be paid as tax. In case of doc. no. 165 only we may interpret the phrase as *navaka aṃna*¹². Usually *navaka aṃna* is nowhere demanded as rent (cf. ghee as *vaka* as already noted above; in no. 559 a dispute arose concerning *vaka aṃna* and not *navaka aṃna*).

(v) *Pake* has mostly been used in the sense of a 'parcel'¹³ or "packing" but from the phrase *Pago palpi kiḍa* (no. 164) Burrow tried to deduce that *pake* seemed to be some "variety of tax" (*Trans.*, (p. 32 note). At the same time Burrow (*ibid*) suggests to take the word *pake* in its general sense. In that case, the above phrase, in his own words, will mean "Pago did the packing of the tax".

(vi) *Śuka* (no. 309; *Trans.*, p. 13 note of doc. no. 59). As suggested by Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 56, note of no. 309) *Śuka* undoubtedly means *śulka* in Sanskrit and meaning "purchase value" (and not 'tax') would suit the context.

(vii) *IIarga*. Dr. Burrow¹⁵ (*BSOS.*, VII, p. 788) refers to the views of Bailey according to whom *barga* of our documents is certainly of an Iranian origin and that Arm. l.w. *bark* corresponds most closely to it. Land tax in the Sassanian age in Persia was called as *Kharag* (C. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*, London, 1927, p. 156). It seems hardly possible to agree with Thomas (cited in *Kl.*, III, p. 379) who seeks to connect *barga* with Skt. *argha* (=tribute) for nowhere in the documents under survey does *barga* convey that sense.

In the existing documents, *barga* has been used in different contexts as:—

- (a) Without any epithet (no. 206). Here it is to be sent along with wine.
- (b) With *palpi* (cf. *dui varṣa palpi barga aṅkena* in no. 141).

¹¹ i.e. *Palpi bhuma na vaka aṃna* in no. 165. Cf. *Trans.*, p. 32; *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 61-2.

¹² Since the word *palpi* is specifically stated here, it will be quite inopportune to take *na vaka* as two separate words.

¹³ Cf. my article "A Study of Weights and Measures in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan" in *JBRs.*, XXXVIII, p. 365.

¹⁴ In Skt., *Śulka* means "Custom duty" etc. Cf. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 43 f.n. 2.

¹⁵ Cf. also *Language*, p. 133.

Burrow (BSOS., VII, p. 788) thinks that the phrase refers to two kinds of tax.

- (c) *Rayaka barga*¹⁶. In doc. no. 696, *rayaka barga* (= "royal dues" as translated by Burrow in *Trans.*, p. 140) was granted to some individuals from the feet of His Majesty. Does it refer to the granting of privileges to enjoy the tax or revenue scheduled to be exacted from some particular locality?
- (d) *Seni barga*¹⁷ (no. 677), taken as "tax claimed by the military authorities" (Burrow, *Trans.*, p. 139 note) needs to be compared with *senābhakta* of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* (Book II, Chap. XV, p. 99 as cited by Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 37). The latter included king's dues of oil, rice and the like payable at the time of marching of the army.
- (e) *Nichiri*¹⁸ *barga* (no. 677), has been taken to mean "hunting rights" (Burrow, *Language*, p. 139 note; cf. Thomas, BSOS, VIII, p. 792 cited in *Language*, p. 101).

(viii) *Ayadvāra* (nos. 317, 387). Thomas (*Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 71) quoting *Kāśyapa Parivarta* interprets the word as "revenue" (cf. *Language*, p. 75). Also Thomas (*ibid.*, p. 72), compares *ayadvāra* with *āyamukha* (= head of a revenue) of Kauṭalya and thinks that "if revenue is delivered in corn but accounted in coin or in ghee, the latter are not *āya* but *Āyamukha*". It is interesting to note the assessment of *ayadvāra* in the city offices¹⁹ and its despatch to be made to the royal court (nos. 317, 387).

II. *Land Survey*:—In all the ancient societies of the world, land was surveyed to determine its area which when calculated by

16 Cf. *Raja barga* in no. 285.

17 Here reference is made to land free from both the *nichiri* and the *seni bargas*. Does it mean that generally different types of taxes used to be imposed on a particular strip of land? Thomas (BSOS., VIII, p. 792, cited in *Language*, p. 101) interprets it as "connected with the army."

18 For *nachira* or *nichira*, consult *Acta Orientalia*, XVIII, p. 37; *Language*, p. 99; BSOS., VII, 513, XI, 774, XIII, 122-3.

19 i.e. *draṃga*. For different interpretations of the term consult *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367 note; G. A. Grierson's *A Dictionary of the Kāśmīrī Language*, pt. III, 1924; Hertford, p. 247; F.W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 104; *Language*, p. 99; BSOS., XII, p. 605, f.n.4; BSOS., VII, pp. 509-10.

the known standard would give the quantity of the field and thus settle king's share. No such information is gleaned from the documents under survey. It is only in a solitary document no. 37 that a slight reference is made to the measuring of the district and even demonstration of the land about the boundary before the *Vasus*. It is regretted that this passing reference does not clearly specify whether all this was done for the sake of assessing the tax only.

III. *Tax Assessment*:—Both royal as well as private estates were within the range of the assessment²⁰ of *palpi* (no. 374) which was conducted every year (cf. *saṃvatsari palpi* in nos. 42, 57, 275, 206; *anusamvatsara palpi* and *palpi saṃvatsara saṃvatsari* in no. 714). There was perhaps no considerable change in the methods of assessment which was all conducted in accordance with old practices (nos. 42, 57, 275, 291). Not only that, the same procedure was resorted to even while assessing a particular commodity. No novelty or change in the field of assessment of taxes was thus possible (cf. no. 275—stating that 20 years have passed since the assessment of annual tax²¹ in a particular locality). We fail to notice any reference to the rates of assessment.

It is only in a solitary record (no. 374) that two persons with their designations as *Tuguja* and *Yatma* were entrusted with assessment work at Masina.

IV. *Rate of Taxation*:—Our documents fail to refer to any specific rate of exacting taxes except long lists of persons and packets brought by them²². It is not plausible to agree with Dr. H. W. Bailey who (*BSOS.*, IX, p. 532) seeks to connect *bhaga* of doc. no. 211 with *baga* of Khotanese *baga-pattra* and opines that *bhaga* is used in connection with *palyi* (=tax). As a matter of fact, *bhaga* denotes “portion” and again “instead of”. There is no mention of any *bhāga-patra* (i.e. assessment document) whatsoever.

V. *Objects to be paid as tax*:—

(a) *Corns and farm products* including *Ogana* (nos. 154, 713-

20 Cf. terms as *chhimḍiti*, *chimtiyae*, *chimḍidaga*, *chimtitaga* or *chimditaga*, cf. *Language*, p. 89; *BSOS.*, XI, p. 793.

21 It seems quite strange to find that *palpi* though assessed twenty years ago was still called as *saṃvatsari* (i.e. annual).

22 Cf. doc. nos. 98, 154, 291, 292, 295, 431-2, 468, 638.

14), *maka* (no. 713) and pomegranates (*dhadima* in nos. 295, 617; *tadima* in no. 252).

(b) *Liquids*:—

(i) Ghee (nos. 42, 51, 162, 211, 207) i.e. *grida* or *gbrida*.

Also animals producing ghee were given as tax objects (no. 151, *ghritasa-pasava*, *ghriti pasu*, *ghrita pasu*).

(ii) Wine (nos. 168-9, 170-76, 291²³, 431, 567). Camels were employed for loading wine collected as tax (no. 291).

(c) *Animals*:—

(i) *Camel* (nos. 16, 42, 165, cf. 70).

A *palpi uta* should neither be of over 13 years in age nor old or thin in constitution (no. 16—अभितो दश न वर्ष पल्पि—उद न वृधग न कृशग).

(ii) *Pasu* (nos. 151, 162, 264).

Reference to *ghrita pasu* has already been made above. Dr. Burrow likes to interpret *pasu* as “sheep” while in Sanskrit it indicates animal in general²⁴.

Generally camels and *pasus* used to be offered as taxes and never was the case with cows and horses. A study of Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan reveals that asses, yaks, horses etc., were frequently paid as taxes (*JRAS.*, 1934, p. 274).

(d) *Textile goods*:—(nos. 154, 207, 714)²⁵

(i) Blankets, carpets and felts.

(ii) *Arnavaji*.

(iii) *Chamdri kamamta*; *Karchi kamude* (no. 357).

23 Cf. *Masuvi dramga* here; *BSOS*, VII, p. 510. The phrase *masu vi soṭhamga dramgadhare* (no. 272) has been interpreted by Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 49) as “tax collectors and officers of the wine department”.

24 Also Burrow (*BSOS.*, VII, p. 510) thinks that *pasuvala* in no. 439 does not mean a “shepherd” but “the person in charge of collecting revenue from sheep”.

25 Cf. my article “A Study of Textiles & Garments in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan” read before the All India Oriental Conference, held at Lucknow in November, 1951; *Bharatiya Vidyā*, Bombay, XIV, pp. 75-94.

(iv) *Rotamṇa*(?—nos. 295, 357, 385, 450); *Churoma* (nos. 272, 357, 450).

(v) Ropes (no. 154) and sacks (no. 154).

(c) *Miscellaneous objects*:—

(i) Baskets (no. 207).

(ii) *Ṣoṣami* (no. 154).

(iii) *Meta* (no. 179).

(iv) *Kaṭa*, cf. *kaṭa nadha* (no. 607).

The last three are quite obscure to be identified.

VI. *Demand for taxes*²⁶:—The existing records refer to demands and even reminders when there were some arrears left or there was no payment of taxes for a considerable period or there was any complaint pertaining to the realisation of taxes or the subordinate state officials delayed the despatch of tax already collected. Only in a solitary document (no. 57) there is a specific demand for “this year’s as well as last year’s taxes” (प्रठ शेष यं च इम वर्षि सध विसर्जिद्वो ; cf. no. 165).

VII. *Extra Taxes*:—There is hardly any reference to extra taxes being ever levied in the ancient kingdom of Shan Shan. The state perhaps believed in realising only the legal amount of tax (cf. *palpi dhama*²⁷ in nos. 164 and 211 as interpreted by Dr. Burrow, *Trans.*, pp. 31, 39). Only arrears were realised along with some extra amount imposed as fine for not paying the taxes within the scheduled time (no. 211, cf. no. 595).

VIII. *Exemption from taxes*:—

There was no system of granting exemptions from taxes in times of famine or drought. Only some individuals could be privileged enough as to enjoy some concessions and remissions²⁸ (cf. *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 49 for similar conditions as depicted in the Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan) which included granting of royal dues *rayaka barga*) from a particular locality (no. 696), exemption from

²⁶ Nos. 42, 57, 70, 162, 227, 275, 307, 315, 633. For residue of a year’s levy in *Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan*, see *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 274.

²⁷ Nay, even loading of the collected tax was to be conducted according to law (no. 413—*dhamena nadha darṣidavya*).

²⁸ The reason of such favours is a mystery indeed.

rotamṇa (no. 295) and award of corn (no. 236). Reference to lands free from *seni* and *nichira bargas* is also available²⁹.

IX. *Collection and storage of taxes*:—Like assessment, the task of collecting and storing the taxes was conducted in accordance with previous customs (no. 275)³⁰. The names of individual tax-payers were inserted in a *pravamṇaga* and every individual share was to be brought quite separately (no. 59). Sometimes such an individual share, which was always in the shape of packets (*nadha*) and parcels, contained three *milimas* (no. 291³¹) of corn. It was not necessary that *nadha* always denoted corn, for we gather from no. 154 that a *nadha* consisted of corn, textile-goods, ghee etc.

As regards corn (collected as tax, i.e. *saṃgalita*; KI, III, p. 375), it was to be stored in the *nagara draṃgas*³² (cf. f.n. 19 above for *draṃga*) where corn³³ was measured and witnesses were duly recorded (no. 98 *draṃgami aṃna māvīda sacchi Rutrasena*).

X. *Officers connected with collection work*:—From doc. no. 477 we gather that it was the duty of persons of the rank of *Chojhbos* (who were sometimes governors) to look to the task of collecting corn for the king. In the above document, a *Chojhbbo* is seen passing on such orders to *Jeṭha Yapgu* who further directed his subordinates to do the needful (cf. O. Stein, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 770). This led O. Stein (*ibid.*, f.n. 2) to conclude (also from doc. no. 470) that the *Daśavita* had to do with collection and registration of corn, cattle etc. In no. 165 the *Chojhbbo* is adjured to accelerate the action of a *Ṣoṭhamga* who is accused of dilatoriness (F.W. Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 62) while the *Tomga* was connected with the duties of controlling the transport.

Reference to conditions under which taxes were demanded, has

29 But here such a land is given to a certain lady by some private person and not the king.

30 In no. 272 this work is entrusted to *Yatma Parkuta*.

31 Cf. my article "A Study of Weights and Measures as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan", *JBRS.*, Dec. 1952, pp. 364-5 dealing with somewhat similar terms as *Nadha*, *Pake* etc.

32 Nos. 60, 67, 272; or even "at one place" (no. 547).

33 Also wine (nos. 168, 567). It was kept in jars (*kalāśa*, no. 633).

34 In nos., 272, 275, 292, 329 this work was to be done by *Chojhbbo* *Soṃjaka*, the Governor of *Chadota* (Niya).

already been made above. In a certain locality, the annual tax was assessed 20 years ago but no payment had ever been made. This led the king to refer to the matter in a very angry tone (no. 275, cf. *Trans.*, p. 50). We also find (no. 59) that names of individual tax payers used to be noted down in a *pravamṇaga* (i.e. "document") and individual share of tax was to be brought quite separately³⁵. Not only that some of the officers were even warned so much so that if they failed to bring the whole tax at an early date, they were to be present personally in the rainy season (no. 211) cf. *Trans.*, p. 39; no. 272. Generally such notes of warning seem to have gone unnoticed and unheeded. It is only in no. 567 that we find reference to orders for the dismissal of an officer being issued because that person happened to waste state wine collected as tax. He was also asked to pay back the wine he had misappropriated (cf. no. 714).

As regards the taxes from private lands, it is recorded that a certain tenant (no. 450) who failed to pay up his dues, was ordered (by his landlord) not to cultivate the land. His house and land too were to be sold. Not only that, that tenant was to shift to his master's residence bag and baggage, along with his wife, mother, sons, daughters etc. We do not know whether this order was ever executed or not.

Document no. 162 furnishes sufficient evidence about the payment of arrears in toto and there being left nothing behind. There is not a single instance when arrears were ever remitted while just the reverse was the case in most of the ancient societies of the past.

XI. *Despatch of taxes*:—Letters of instruction demanding an early³⁶ despatch of taxes were frequently issued. Such being the case, it appears that generally officers were very slow in these matters. It was clearly specified that nothing was to be kept back³⁷, whatever was due was to be sent³⁸. Any slackness in such matters was intolerable indeed³⁹. Sometimes state officers were threatened to pay from

35 पत्ति अंनं जनस नम प्रवर्नगमि लिहितग, तेष जंस तनु तनु नध इश अनिद्वो । According to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (cf. *JBBRAS.*, XV, 1939, p. 60) such contributions were required to be entered separately in the pipe-roll.

36 Nos. 42, 158, 164-5, 211, 245, 370, 374, 387, 714, etc. cf. *BSOS.*, VII, p. 787; *Language*, pp. 121, 132; *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 43, XIII, p. 79.

37 Nos. 227, 275, 307 etc.

38 Nos. 42, 57, 70, 162, 165, 211, 247, 272, 275, 315, 450, 713-14 etc.

39 Nos. 159, 197.

their own establishment in case they showed arrears in their annual tax-returns (no. 714) etc.

In spite of all these warnings certain officers were bold enough as to withhold taxes in toto (no. 211).

According to Prof. Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1934, p 104) "government portion taken as tax, when not removed to headquarters, was deposited in toll and corn stations whence no doubt couriers and other persons concerned provided with orders be supplied". Doc. no. 291 refers to a specific order where out of 350 *milimas* of corn (assessed as annual tax), one third was to be sent to the capital while the remaining was to be stored at Pisali⁴⁰. According to king's instructions (no. 275) tax was to be despatched along with the account—document sent from the king's court. Sometimes wine was required to be sent under seal (no. 247) and an acknowledgment of its receipt in return was expected. In doc. 165, a detailed letter of instruction was written with king as a witness and the addressee was asked to pay special attention to the matter and not to keep back the *palpi uta* (camel which formed the portion of tax).

Generally taxes were sent to the king but sometimes the latter wanted them to be deposited in the treasury (*Kaṇi draṃgami*, no. 357) in continuation of the old custom.

XII. *Precautions at the time of despatch*:—In those good old days of insecurity and unsafety prevailing on the highways of vast deserts of Central Asia, it was extremely essential to send the tax collected under considerable escort⁴². There was every possibility of it being looted⁴³ on the way (no. 165). Hence it was expected to

40 We do not know anything about this storage at Pisali (cf. no. 309).

41 According to Burrow (*BSOS*, VII, p. 509) *kaṇi* and *gamṇi* are identical and that *gamṇi draṃga* = "treasure house, store house". For *kaṃjha-valiyana* and *gamṇāvara* in the sense of a treasurer, consult Burrow, *ibid*; *Language*, p. 81; *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 428; Henning, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 83; H.W. Bailey, *BSOS.*, XIII, p. 127; Monier Williams, *A Skt.-English Dictionary*, 1899, Oxford, p. 342 for *gamṇāvara* in Skt. literature. This word also occurs in the Mathurā Inscription of Śoḍāsa (D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

Burrow (*BSOS.*, VII, p. 785) also interprets the word *maravara* as an "accountant". In our documents, all these epithets have never been used in association with persons concerned with the accounts branch.

42 *Agetas* and *Yatmas* had to go in front (no. 307).

43 Cf. *Language*, p. 103, s.v. *parasa*.

despatch it at the proper time, neither earlier nor later than the scheduled hours (no. 165). In case the tax came to be looted on the way, the despatcher was to pay from his own farm and thus to make up the loss (no. 165—"parcel for a parcel"⁴⁴). The king specifically ordered the provincial governor to send *palpi* under supervision to the treasury (no. 357).

XIII. *Loading of taxes*:—Camels⁴⁵ served the purpose of transporting wine, corn etc., collected as tax. Generally a camel used to carry a load⁴⁶ of 1 *milima* and 10 *khis* of wine (no. 329) and 3 *milimas* of corn (no. 291). Sometimes military camels too were procured to do this job (no. 291). Even load was packed according to the law (no. 413).

XIV. *Accounts of taxes*:—Taxes being the main source of state revenue, it was extremely essential to maintain proper account of taxes⁴⁷ received (nos. 100, 211, 159) and arrears due to the tax payers (nos. 151, 162, 168, 179, 207, 211, 264, 275, 607, 714 etc.).

In most of the documents are names of persons, quantity of corns, ghee, wine, animals etc., mentioned against their names and in the end the name of some *daśavida* or *śadavida* along with the total amount noted against his name. From such documents (cf. nos. 93, 108, 137, 151 etc.) it appears that names of tax payers were perhaps written down separately in accordance with the principle that each man's share was to be brought separately. Does it then mean that grand total in the end was stated against the name of the person in-charge of realising the taxes from the people referred to above in the account documents?

Sometimes it so happened that "corn was not written down on the receipt (together with other items) with the result that orders were issued to make the reckoning of that corn (together with other items). It was hence extremely essential to enquire about the corn (no. 100; cf. no. 140).

44 Cf. no. 714 for similar punishment if an officer happened to send the tax less than what was due.

45 Sometimes horses too (no. 333, *masuammi stora* as translated by Burrow in *Trans.*, p. 63).

46 *Darṣa*=load. Cf. *BSOS.*, VII, p. 511; *BSOS.*, XI, p. 768.

47 Cf. *palpi libidaga* in no. 59. For somewhat similar condition gleaned in the *Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan*, consult *Serindia* (p. 1463) by A. Stein.

XV. *Scrutiny of taxes and state supervision*:—It was the duty of the king to look to the supervision of taxation department with a policy of stern attitude towards corruption and negligence. In that connection very frequently detailed instructions used to be issued to the high officers of the realm (including the provincial governors as *Chojhbo* *Soṃjaka* etc.). He who failed to “provide his tax” (cf. *Trans.*, p. 143, no. 714) was to be removed from his office. Even high officers of the rank of a *Ṣoṭhamga*⁴⁸ were not spared in such matters (no. 567).

Also holding of conferences⁴⁹ of all the *Vasus*, the *Agetas* and the *Yatmas* from the provinces as well as from the central state might have helped a lot in keeping stern control over the officers of the kingdom (no. 714). It is regretted that no detailed information about such meetings is forthcoming.

As regards courteous behaviour of the officers of taxation department, the king even saw that the former did not harass the people by unwanted demands and undesirable pressure (cf. no. 638—“law of the kingdom is not to be administered in an unlawful manner”). It is interesting to note that except in doc. no. 164, there is not a single note referring to the cruel behaviour of tax collectors or oppression of the poor folk at their hands. Officials were usually sent on inspection tour (no. 714). The meaning of a certain phrase, (no. 496) as “land tax which is 2 *khi* of ghee is not to be stopped by the *Vasus* and the *Agetas* in *Chadota*”, is not clear. Were these officers so bold as to stop the despatch of taxes or were they so dishonest as there was every fear of the tax being eaten away by them?

XVI. *Officers of the Royal Department of Taxation*:—(cf. doc. no. 317, *jamna yo rayaka-palpidhama kareṃti*, *Trans.*, doc. no. 317).

(i) *Accounts branch* (?)—

Reference to *kaṃjhaivaliyana*, *gaṃṇavara* and *maravara* has already been made above.

48 Orders were issued for the dismissal of a *Ṣoṭhamga* in case wastage of state wine on his part could be proved. He was not let free till he had paid back the whole amount of wine collected as tax and later on wasted by his own person. Cf. no. 272 about *Ṣoṭhamgas* dissipating wine (*Acta Orientalia*, XII, pp. 43 ff).

49 No. 714—*Avi varṣavasammi tumahu bahi rajyade rajarajade vasuana agetana yatmana iṣa chaturthamasammi agamdavo, palpidhamasa pruchha hoti, yo nasti dura nikhalidavo,*

(ii) *Administrative branch :—*

- (a) Persons of the status of a *Chojbbo*⁵⁰ were also responsible for the collection and despatch of taxes⁵¹.
- (b) *Ṣoṭhamgas*⁵²:—They were under a *Chojbbo* (nos. 165, 477) and were in charge of collecting wine. H.W. Bailey (*BSOS.*, VIII, p. 905) compares this word with Tocharian “*Ṣoṣṭāṅkāñ* (=tax collectors) and opines that “*Ṣoṭhamga* was a tax collector in *Krorayina* and the Tocharian word represents an older form of the word in third century A.D. Niya *Kharoṣṭhī* documents”.
- (c) *Vasus*⁵³ were often associated with the *Agetas* (nos. 496, 571; *Language*, p. 120). In no. 496, the *Vasus* are concerned with the collection of *vaka*. It seems they were also entrusted with the task of making enquiries about the state of taxation (no. 571)⁵⁴.
- (d) *Agetas* (cf. *Agita* in no. 42). The *Agetas* and the *Yatmas* were responsible for the proper conveying of taxes (nos. 42, 57) while in nos. 275, 307, 714, these officers appear at the time of investigation held into the condition of taxation. Sometimes (nos. 571, 715) the *Vasus* and the *Agetas* are seen dispensing with judicial matters. It is not possible to account for the sale of wine per order of a certain *Vasu* in doc. nos. 431-2.
- (e) *Yatmas*⁵⁵. The close association of the *Yatmas* and some other officers has been discussed above. The former were

50 Cf. *Language*, pp. 90-1; *Acta Orientalia*, XVI, p. 239.

51 But persons holding this title performed other jobs also as judging of disputes (no. 767), looking after royal camels (no. 182), conducting of camels (no. 341), appointing officials (no. 435), obeying royal orders concerning supply of provisions to envoys enroute to Khotan (nos. 14, 135) etc.

52 Cf. *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 905; *Journal of Greater India Society*, Calcutta, XI, p. 63; *Language*, pp. 127-8).

53 Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 46, f.n.2

54 Cf. no. 42 as interpreted by Burrow in *Trans.*, p. 10. For *Yatma*, *Ageta* and *Vasu* consult *Journal of Greater India Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 63; *Language*, p. 120, no. 715.

55 The exact interpretation of the phrases “*Yatma* of *kuavana* corn” (no. 430) and “of this corn other *Yatmas* are to be made” (no. 349) is quite obscure.

to pack corn-parcels (no. 305) and even prepare such parcels (no. 349). On the other hand, along with a *Tuguja*, a *Yatma* is said to have assessed the annual tax in Masina (no. 374) and seen busy with the work of conducting camels⁵⁶ (nos. 23, 546).

- (f) *Koyimaṇḍhina* or *Koyimaṇ*.
- (g) *Tsaṃghinava*.
- (h) *Śadavita*. In nos. 159, 247 taxes were also to be sent through persons holding this epithet.
- (i) *Sugnuta* was perhaps in charge of the last year's tax (no. 42; *Trans.*, p. 10 f.n.).
- (j) *Tommi*. No. 165 records the despatch of tax through *tommi* (cf. *tommihi sadha*). The same job was also entrusted to the *Yatmas* and the *Agetas*.

This is in nutshell a short account of the state of taxation as gleaned from the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan*.

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⁵⁶ Perhaps those camels which were collected as tax. We have already noticed that camels too could be paid as tax.

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Ancient Popular Festivals in North-East India

Festivals as an important aspect of the social Life

Our ancient literature reveals that the occasional celebrations of festivals were an important aspect of the religious and social life of the people. The Vedic people were also interested in merry-making through the organisation of festive occasions when they amused themselves by games like the chariot races. The later sources inform us that not only the people, but the state also took an active part in initiating the celebrations of the festive occasions. The *Ramayana* says that the festivity and the popular gathering increase the popularity of the state.¹ Kauṭilya had recommended the organisation of *Yātrā*, *Samāja*, *Utsava*, and *Pravahana* by the state.² From the Rock-Edict of Aśoka, we know that there used to be festive gatherings, both religious as well as secular, and he discouraged such gatherings where animals were killed.³ In a later epigraphical evidence, we find that king Khāravela entertained the citizens of Kalinga capital by the organisation of a festive occasion, where took place the display of contests, music, songs, and dances amidst large gatherings⁴. Thus we find that the festive celebrations were a very important aspect of the social life of the people from the Vedic times.

From the Buddhist and the Jain sources we learn that the people of the period were very keenly interested in matters of merry-making through occasional celebrations of the festivities. The festive celebrations were either religious or secular in nature. Both of the occasions were marked by feasting, dancing, singing and so on. The word *Samāja* occurs often in the Buddhist literature to denote a festive gathering. In the *Vinayapitaka* a festival on a high place at Rājagṛha is described as *Giraggasamāja*.⁵ That it took place at the

1 Quoted by B.M. Barua: *Ins. of Aśoka*, Pt. II, p. 224.

2 *Ibid.* According to commentary: यात्रा देवतानां समाजी लोक-समुदयः उत्सवः इन्द्रवसन्तोत्सवादिः प्रवहणमुद्यानभोजनादि ।

3 R.E.I.

4 Hāthigumphā Ins.

5 Culla, VI, 2, 7.

top of a hill, probably a sacred place, points to the religious nature of the gathering. It is also said that high officials were invited, and were provided with special seats. The *Sigilovāda Sutta* informs us that in a *Samajja* there used to be dancing, singing, music, recitations, conjuring tricks, and acrobatic shows. It seems quite plausible to assume that *samajjas* were festive gatherings either of the religious or secular nature. The Jātaka stories show that the word *samajja* meant either a popular gathering for merry-making or a simple fair. But the occasions on which the *samajjas* took place would have been probably religious or at least auspicious constellation of stars. In the Jātaka stories *nakkhata* (*nakṣatra*) has been very often used to mark a festive occasion; this shows that it was on special occasions, probably on days auspicious for religious performances that normally a *samajja* took place. However, there used to be a gathering organised by the king which took place at the courtyard of the royal palace.⁶ Wrestling was the usual game which took place on such occasions.⁷ There were feats of archery,⁸ fights of rams⁹ and elephants,¹⁰ and horse-playing;¹¹ there were dramatic representations¹² (नाटकानि) and music competitions.¹³ This seems to be a pure secular occasion, and was similar to the festival held annually by Candragupta Maurya for animal fights¹⁴ of rams, wild bulls, elephants, and rhinoceros and races of chariots drawn by two oxen with a horse between them.

It is very difficult to distinguish the nature of other festive occasions, because both the religious and secular gatherings had assumed the form of fairs lasting for several days. Means of amusement were similar in both. The *Dighanikāya* tells us that people used to enjoy in a number of ways. There were dances, singing of songs, instrumental music and shows at fairs.¹⁵ There were hand music, chanting of bards, tom-tom playing, fairy scenes and acrobatic

6 J. II. 253. सच्चनागरा सन्निपत्तिं सु । राजगणो चक्रातिचक्रे मयातिमन्त्रे वंधिसु ।
J. IV. 458; J. VI. 277.

7 J. III. 160; IV. 81-82; VI. 277

8 J. VI. pp. 311-312.

9 J. III. 82.

10 J. II. pp. 46-9, IV. 95; V. 286

11 J. VI. 275

12 J. V. 282.

13 J. II. pp. 253-254

14 *Aelian*: quoted by R. K. Mikhherjee: *Aśoka*, p. 129 f.

15 *Dighanikāya*, *Brahmajāla Sutta*, I. 6. 13.

feats by Caṇḍālas.¹⁶ There used to be animal and bird fights, boxing and wrestling, sham-fights and manoeuvres.¹⁷ The *Jātakas* tell us that on festival days there gathered people in a large number¹⁸ to witness the entertainments of the fair,¹⁹ which represented manifold items of great interest. The tumblers and jugglers represented spectacular scenes with their dances and tricks, which made people burst into laughter.²⁰ Their assemblage in numbers of thousands was the most attractive scene. Feats like rope-dancing and javelin-dancing (*langhansippam*) were very sensational to behold and were performed by the *naṭas*.²¹ At times the javelin-dancers met their tragic ends by falling down.²² The snake-charmers would have equally attracted large gatherings; while the conch-blowers²³ (*śaṅkhaḍhamaka*) and the drummers²⁴ (*bberivāḍaka*) created an atmosphere of great pleasure by their musical melodies. People profusely consumed scents, perfumes, unguents, food, and meat.²⁵ Decoration of the person by garlands was quite common.²⁶ The Jain Sūtras inform us that the festive entertainments were characterised by feasting, drinking, and amorous acts.²⁷

The centres of the festivals were the cities and towns, where gathered people from the neighbouring villages to enjoy the occasion. In the royal cities the festival was usually proclaimed by the king, and at the first summoning of the festive, drums were beaten asking the townsfolk to observe holiday.²⁸ Ordinary daily pursuits like the ploughing of the land was stopped; feasting and drinking were resorted to, and friends were invited.²⁹ The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with

16 *Dighaṅkaya, Brahmaṇḍa Sutta*, I. 6. 13.

17 *Ibid.*combats of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks and quails.

18 J. II. 13 उस्सवे घोसिते महागमत्रं अहोमि.

19 J. II. 13. उस्सवे घोसिते...बहू मनुस्सा समञ्जदस्सनत्थं सन्निपत्तिंसु.

20 J. No. 489.

21 J. I. 430.

22 *Ibid.*

23 J. I. 284.

24 J. I. 283.

25 J. II. 248. उस्सवे घुट्ठे चंदकं संहारित्वा बहु मालागंधविलेपनश्चक्षज्जभोजनादीनि च आदाय कीलनत्थाने सन्निपत्तिता ।

26 J. No. 546.

27 *SBE.*, XXII. pp. 94-95.

28 J. I. 250. नक्खतभेरिसइसवनकालतोपट्ठाया सकलनगरवासिनो नक्खतनिस्सितका हुत्वा विचरन्ति ।

29 J. No. 545. VI. 238.

meat and rice, and homages were paid to the deities whom they worshipped.³⁰ The Jain Sūtras state that the Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas and beggars were fed.³¹ Jātaka No. 122, describing a festival at the city of Rājagṛha, which was the capital of Magadha, says that the city was adorned on the occasion of a festival, like a city of gods, and the king mounted on an elephant in all its taperings, made a solemn procession round the city, attended by a great retinue.³² The royal cities during the festival days displayed great pomp, and people believed that gods from heaven came to witness the festive occasions.³³ It seems from the enthusiasm of the people to celebrate festivals that the whole land of the North-East India was keenly observing and enjoying such occasions in a befitting manner.

The references to festivals indicate that they normally lasted for seven days.³⁴ But this was not the limit. We come across festival holidays lasting one full month devoted to merry-making and feasting.³⁵

The Cāturmāsya Festivals

The Cāturmāsya were very old seasonal festivals. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the reward obtained by the performance of the Cāturmāsya. Then these were simply sacrificial performances. The *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra* tells us that there were three Cāturmāsya festivals, each celebrated at an interval of four months, which indicated the advent of three seasons viz., spring, rains, and winter. They were celebrated on the full moon days of *Phālguna*, of *Āṣāḍha* and of *Kārttika*. The end of the rainy season and the commencement of the winter, when the sky became clear of clouds and the fields were seen rich with ensuing harvest, people found it a very joyful occasion, and so the Cāturmāsya of the Kārttika month was rejoiced wholeheartedly.

Kattikā (Kaumudi-mahotsava)

The Cāturmāsya festival of *Kārttika* has been mentioned in a number of Jātaka-stories, though the name Cāturmāsya occurs only

30 J. No. 545; VI. 238.

31 SBE., XXII. p. 32

32 J. I. 444. अथ 'एकस्मिं क्षणदिवस' सकलनगरं देवनगरं विय अलंकरित्वा सव्वालंकारपतिमंडितं मंगलहृत्विं अभिरुहित्वा महन्तेन राजानुभावेन नगर पदक्खिनं अकासि ।

33 J. No. 326.

34 J. No. 418; 546.

35 J. No. 545.

in Jātaka No. 530. The Cāturmāsya festival of the Kārttika was known as the *Kattikā* or the *Kaumudī*. It was the most popular festival, when all persons high or low, young and old, men and women, participated in the enjoyment with equal zeal and interest. Jātaka No. 530 tells us that the king on this day mounted on a magnificent chariot drawn by horses of thorough-bred, and escorted by a number of courtiers went round the city with all his pomp; when flowers from the balconies of the palaces were showered upon him. He halted at the houses of certain outstanding members of his court, if he liked. The beauty of the festival lay in the night decorations of the cities and towns. Jātaka No. 150 tells us that when Ajātaśatru was the king of Magadha, on the *Kattikā* festival day, the city of Rājagṛha was decorated like a city of gods.³⁶ All the royal cities of North-East India represented similar grandeur on the occasion of this festival; and we are informed of similar scenes at the cities of Vārāṇasī³⁷ and Śrāvastī.³⁸ People kept holiday with no exception.³⁹ At night everybody came out of his house to enjoy the decorations and other entertainments⁴⁰. Ladies liked to adorn themselves with fine and colourful clothes, and we find one entreating her husband for having a saffron coloured cloth to put on.⁴¹ People belonging to the lower stratum of the society used to go out with their wives' hands resting round the neck of the husbands, as we generally find among the aboriginals of Chotanagpur. A lady who had no good clothes was sorry that she would not be able to go about at the night festival with her hands round her husband's neck.⁴²

It lasted for seven days⁴³ and was proclaimed by the king⁴⁴ as in the case of other festivals. It was just like a fair devoted to merry-

36 J. I. 508. अथ अस्स राजगहनगरे कत्तिकारत्तिवारे सम्पत्ते देवनगरं विय नगरे अलंकेते ।

37 J. I. 499. अथ वाराणसियं कत्तिकरत्तिवारक्षणे सम्पत्तो होति नगरं देवनगरं विय अलंकरिमुं, सच्चो जनो छणकीलानिस्सितो अहोसि ।

38 J. I. 433. कत्तिकद्धणे नक्खत्ते घुट्ठे सच्चो लोको नक्खत्त-निस्सितो अहोसि ।

39 J. No. 147.

40 Ibid.

41 J. I. 499. इच्छाम अहं सामि कुसुमभरत्तं निवासेत्वा एकं पारुपित्वा... ।

42 J. I. 499; तव कंठे लग्गा कत्तिकरत्तिवारं चरितु... ।

43 J. I. 433. सत्ताहे वातिवत्ते नक्खत्तं ओसितं ।

44 Ibid.

making for a week. The full moon day of Kārttika enjoys importance even today and the whole night is spent in *Jāgarana*.

The Aṣṭakā Festival

The *Gr̥hyasūtras*⁴⁵ inform us that the *Aṣṭakās* were celebrated during the winter season. According to the *Sāṅkhyāyana gr̥hyasūtra*⁴⁶ the *Aṣṭakās* were three, while *Āśvalāyana*⁴⁷ reckons them as four. They were celebrated on the dark moon day; of the months of *Mārgasīrṣa*, *Pauṣa*, and *Māgha*⁴⁸. The last *Aṣṭakā* was known as *Ekāṣṭakā* and was called the wife of the year, the image of the year, the disposer of the days, because it preceded the beginning of the new year only by a few days⁴⁹. The *Mahāvagga* says that during the *Aṣṭakā* celebrations the Jāṭilas bathed repeatedly in the river *Nerañjarā*, in the cold winter nights when snow fell. This indicates that bathing was an aspect of the *Aṣṭakas*. It is supported by the *Gr̥hyasūtras* which inform us that in the middle *Aṣṭakā*, people offered food to their deities and took sacred bath.⁵⁰ The *Aṣṭakās* were the festivals of the winter season and were celebrated for three or four months according to the prevalent regional customs.

The Elephant Festival

The Elephant festival is described as being celebrated in the courtyards of the kings. It seems quite proper that this festival was performed for the enjoyment of the nobility which was associated with royal dignity. The festival must have been a costly affair. J. No. 163 described an Elephant Festival, which was held yearly, in the royal courtyard. It is said that the Brāhmaṇas flocked to the king and said, "O Great King ! the season for an Elephant Festival has come, and a festival should be celebrated⁵¹." It is said further that a hundred elephants were set in array with golden trappings, golden flags, all covered with a net-work of fine gold. The courtyard of the palace was fully decked. The chaplain of the king conducted the festival; and he was expected to know the three Vedas and the

45 *Sāṅkhyāyana Gr̥hyasūtra*, III. 12.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra*, II. 4.

48 *Sāṅkhyāyana* III. 12.

49 SBE., XXIX. p. 102 footnote.

50 *Āśvalāyana*, G.S., III. 5. 20.

51 J. II. 46. महाराज, हृदिमंगलद्वयो सम्पत्तो, मंगलं कर्तुं वत्ति ।

elephant-lore. In the absence of such an able person the festival could be held up. The festival was in reality an exercise of the elephants in a spectacular manner.

J. No. 455 traces the origin of the Elephant Festival in these words:- 'The *Bodhisattva* was born as an elephant and lived with his mother. He was caught by the king of Kāśī, but was released after he discoursed on the Truth to him. After the death of his mother, he went to a monastery, named Karandaka where a number of sages dwelt. There he died. The king made an image of stone of the Bodhisattva and great honour was paid to it. There, the inhabitants of all India gathered year by year to perform what was called the 'Elephant Festival'. This legend gives a religious garb to the festival and eulogises the sanctity of the animal that played the most important part in the performance of the festival. In Buddhism the elephant is a representation of the Buddha and hence much sanctity is attached to him. From the Hindu point of view also the elephant enjoys sanctity, being the '*Vāhana*' of *Indra* or *Śakra* and *Śakra* was the most popular god during the Buddhist period as he figured in the Buddhist literature in the same manner as in the Brāhmanic literature.

The Drinking Festival (Surīnakkhata)

There are a number of references to the 'Drinking Festival'. A drinking festival at Rājagṛha is mentioned⁵². On that occasion every body drank hard⁵³. People put on good clothes just as on the occasions of other festivals, ate meat and danced merrily. On the festival day liquor and meat were sold side by side⁵⁴. There were some other festival occasions or fairs where meat and liquor were consumed accompanied by singing, dancing and music; but the mention of a festival dedicated only to drinking and eating points out that drinking was so much in vogue that people thought it necessary to organise festivals in honour of the most popular habit. The festival has been described as very wet, when everybody drank to his utmost capacity⁵⁵.

52 J. No. 142.

53 *Ibid.* J. I. 489:—ये भुज्येन मनुसा सुरं पिबन्ति, सुराद्यणो एव किर सो ।

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Ibid.*

The Jātakas tell us of another drinking festival held at Bīnāras.⁵⁶ A large number of ascetics were staying at the royal pleasure-garden and on the day of the drinking festival, they were supplied with the best spirits by the king. They drank, sang and danced in drunken hilarity.⁵⁷ This statement reveals that even the higher class people were given to drinking on such occasions; and even ascetics for whom drinking is strictly prohibited were led astray on this occasion. But this can be partially true, as we are told from other sources that drinking was prohibited and the good ascetics abstained from drinking. The occasion was characterised by unrestricted enjoyments of drinking and dancing. At times drunkenness led to quarrelling.⁵⁸ Women also drank hard, danced and sang in a large number.⁵⁹ All these show that people during this period were so keen about merry-making that they organised festivals even in the name of drinking.

The Ploughing Festival

Jātaka 467 describes a festival which was known as the Ploughing Festival. It is said there that on that day the king held the plough. Ploughing is the means through which we get corn from the land. In ancient days great importance was attached to ploughing. From times immemorial the earth has been worshipped as the mother goddess. Therefore ploughing the earth was a sacred act. Most probably the first ploughing at the beginning of the rains was observed as a sacred day and celebrated as a festival. The king, who enjoyed a divine status, started the ploughing. The *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra* lays down that ploughing should be done under the *Nakṣatra Rōhinī*⁶⁰. Before ploughing started at the eastern boundary of the field, a *bali* was offered to heaven and earth. When the plough was being put into motion first, a Brāhmaṇa was to touch it reciting a Vedic mantra in the different directions. This religious rite at the beginning of the ploughing seems to have been developed in the form of a festival, when even the king attended to grace the occasion of the first plough-

56 J. I. 362 : अथ एक दिवसं नगरे सुरानम्यन्तं नाम अहोमि ।

57 J. I. 362 : तापसा सुटे पितृत्वा उग्र्यानं गन्ता सुरामदमत्ता हुत्वा एकचे उद्राय नचिंसु एकचे गायिंसु... ।

58 J. 459.

59 J. 512.

60 *Sāṅkhyāyana G.S.*, IV. 13.

ing of land on the eve of the agricultural season. The Earth was known as *Sītā*, and the wife of Indra.⁶¹ Offerings were made to *Sītā*, and Indra was invoked for rains.⁶²

The Pavāraṇā Festival

It was a Buddhist Festival, unlike those which were marked by drinking, feasting and merry-making. It was a festival of introspection and self-examination. It was celebrated after the rainy season, at the end of the *vassa* residence of the Bhikṣus.

In addition to these important and popular festivals there were a number of other common festivals which were celebrated regularly though not marked by large gatherings. The Full Moon days and the New Moon days were looked upon as sacred and offerings were made to gods on these days and fast was observed,⁶³ both by the followers of the Brāhmanic faith and the Buddhist lay disciples. Religious ceremonies were observed on those days and they are described as the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifices by the *Śrauta Sūtras*⁶⁴. Āpastamba says that offerings to gods must be made on these days for the whole life.⁶⁵ The Full Moon days of *Śrāvana*, *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Āśvayuja*, and *Praṇṣṭhapad* are mentioned in the *Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra* as important ceremonial occasions.⁶⁶ The Jain Sūtras inform us that there were festivals in honour of *Indra*, *Skanda*, *Rudra* and *Mukunda*; there were festivals of Demons, Yakṣas and snakes; there were festivals to honour shrines and tombs, and also to worship trees, cows, wells, tanks, ponds, rivers, lakes, seas and mines.⁶⁷ Thus we find that the life of the people was liberally interspersed with merry festivities.

MADAN MOHAN SINGH

61 Pā. G.S., II, 17. 9.

62 *Ibid.*

63 M.V. IV. 1; J. Nos. 29.36, 71.

64 Both were Uposatha days.

65 Quoted by Śabara on Jaimini. x.8.36. यावज्जीवनं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत् ।

66 *Āp.*, III. 14. 11-13...ताभ्यां यावज्जीवनं यजेत् । त्रिंशद् वा वर्षाणि जीर्णौषा विरमेत् ।

67 Pā. G.S., II. 14.2; III. 2.2; II. 16; II. 15.1.

68 SBE., XXII, p. 92.

The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra*

३८। यः पुनर्भिक्षुः सन्निहितं खादनीयभोजनीयं खादेद्भुज्जीत वा पायन्तिका ।

३९। यः पुनर्भिक्षुरदत्तं [मुखद्वारा] हारमाहरेदन्यत्रोदकदन्तकाष्ठा-
त्पायन्तिका ।

४०। यानि तानि भगवता भिक्षुणां प्रणीतभोजनान्याख्यातानि तद्यथा
क्षीरं दधि नयनीतं मत्स्यो मांसं वल्गरो यः पुनर्भिक्षुः^१ एवंपाणि प्रणीत-
भोजनानि आत्मार्थमग्लानः परकुलेभ्यो विशाप्य खादेद्भुज्जीत वा पायन्तिका ।

४१। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सप्राणकमुदकं परिभुज्जीत पायन्तिका ।

४२। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सभोजने कुले अनुप्रस्कन्द्यासने निपद्यं कल्पये-
त्पायन्तिका ।

४३। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् सभोजने कुले प्रतिच्छन्ने तिष्ठेत्पायन्तिका ।

४४। यः पुनर्भिक्षुरचेलकाय वा अचेलिका[यै वा]^२ परित्राजकाय वा
सहस्तं खादनीयभोजनीयं दद्यात्पायन्तिका ।

४५। यः पुनर्भिक्षुरुचुक्तां सेनां दर्शनायोपसंक्रामेत् पायन्तिका ।

४६। [स्याद्भिक्षोः]^३ 'स्तद्रूपः प्रत्ययः उच्युक्तां सेनां दर्शनाय उपगच्छमिन्व-
द्विरात्रपरमं तेन भिक्षुणा तस्यां सेनायां विप्रवस्तव्यं नत उत्तरि विप्र-
[वसेत्पायन्तिका]^४ ।

४७। [द्विरात्रपरम]^५ 'मपि चेद्भिक्षुस्तस्यां सेनायां विप्रवासं उच्युपिकां वा
गच्छेत्त्वजाग्रं वा बलाग्रं वा सेनाव्यूहमनीकदर्शनं वा प्रत्यनुभवेत्पायन्तिका ।

४८। [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः]^६ 'कुपितश्चण्डीभूतो नात्तमना भिक्षोः प्रहारं दद्या-
त्पायन्तिका ।

४९। यः पुनर्भिक्षुरभिपक्तः कुपितश्चण्डीभूतो नात्तमना भिक्षोः प्रहार-
मुप[दर्शयेत् अन्ततस्तलशक्तिक]^७ 'मपि पायन्तिका ।

५०। यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन् भिक्षोः दुष्टुलामापत्तिं प्रतिच्छादयेत्पायन्तिका ।

* Continued from p. 174 of vol. xxix, No. 3.

1 Tib. kha-nas-mid-paḥi.

2 Tib. dge-slon.

3 Tib. gcer-bu-ma.

4 Tib. dge-slon.....byun na.

5 Tib. gnas-na-ltuñ-byed-do.

6 Tib. zhag-gñis.

7 Tib. yan-dge-slon-gañ.

8 Tib. brdeg-par-gzas-na-tha-na-thal-mos-kyan, ruñ-stc.

५१ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुभिर्भिक्षुमेवं वदेत्—एहि आयुष्मन् कुलान्युपसङ्गमावस्तत्र ते दापयिष्यामि [खादनीयभोज]^९ नीयं याचदाप्तं । स तस्य दापयित्वा प्रणीतं खादनीयभोजनीयं याचदाप्तं ततः पश्चादेवं वदेत्—गच्छ त्वमायुष्मन् न मम त्वया सार्धं स्पर्शोऽपितु एकाकिन एव मे स्पर्शो भवति कथायां वा निपद्यायां वा इत्युद्योजनप्रेक्षी कश्चिदेव भिक्षुरुद्योजितो भविष्यतीति एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा नान्यत्र पायन्तिका ।

५२ । [यः पुनः]^{१०} भिक्षुरात्मार्थमग्लानो वितपनप्रेक्षी ज्योतिः समवधव्यात्समवधापयेद्वा पायन्तिका ।

५३ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुधार्मिकसंधकरणीये भिक्षोश्छन्दं दत्त्वा पश्चादभिपक्तः [कुपितश्चण्डीभूतो नात्तमना]^{११} क्षेपधर्ममापद्येत । आहर भिक्षोश्छन्दं न ते ददामीति पायन्तिका ।

५४ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसम्पन्नेन पुद्गलेन सार्धं द्विरात्रादूर्ध्वं सहागार- [शय्यां कल्पयेत्पायन्तिका]^{१२} ।

५५ । यः पुनर्भिक्षुरेवं वदेत्—तथाहं भगवतो धर्मं देशितमाजानामि यथा ये अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता भगवता ते प्रतिसेव्यमाना नालमन्तरायायेति । [सो भिक्षुर्भिक्षुभिः]^{१३} रिदं स्याद्वचनीयो—मा त्वमायुष्मन् एवं वोचस्तथाहं भगवतो धर्मं देशितमाजानामि यथा ये अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता भगवता ते च प्रतिसेव्यमाना [नालमन्तरायाय इति]^{१४} । मा भगवन्तमभ्याचक्षुः न साधु भवति भगवतोऽभ्याख्यानं न च पुनर्भगवान्नेवमाह अनेकपर्यायेण आयुष्मन्-न्तरायिका धर्माः सन्तः अन्तरायिका एवोक्ता भगवता ते च प्रतिसेव्यमाना अलमन्तरायायेति निरुज त्वमायुष्मन् [एवंरूपं पापकं दृष्टिगतं]^{१५} । [सो भिक्षु-र्भिक्षुभिरुच्यमानस्तद्वस्तु प्रतिनिरुजेदित्येव कुशलं, नो चेत्प्रतिनिरुजेद्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्यः समनुशासितव्यस्तस्य प्रतिनिःसर्गाय]^{१६} द्विरपि त्रिरपि

9 Tib. bcag-ba-dan-bzab-ba.

10 Tib. yañ.....gñ.

11 Tib. hkhruḡs-rñam-par-gyur-te. yid-ma-rañs-rtas.

12 Tib. ñal-na-ltuñ-byed-do.

13 Tib. dge-sloñ-de-la-dge-sloñ-rñams-kyis.

14 Tib. bar-du-gcod-par-mi-hgyur-te.

15 Tib. sdig-pa-can-gvi-lta-baḥi-rñams-ñdi-lta-bu.

16 Tib. dge-sloñ-de-la-dge-sloñ-rñams-kyis-de-skad-bsoḡo-ba-rtā. gal-te-gzhi-de-gtoñ-ñta-legs. gal-te-mi-gtoñ-na-gzhi-de-gtoñ-bar-byā-baḥi-phyir. lan-gñis-lan-gsum-du-yañ-dag-par-bsoḡo-bar-byā. yañ-dag-bstan-par-byāḥo.

समनुयुज्यमानः समनुशिष्यमानस्तद्वस्तु प्रतिनिसृजेदित्येव' कुशलं, [नो चेत् प्रतिनिसृजेत्, पायन्तिका ।]¹⁷

५६ । [यः पुनर्भिभुर्जानन् तथावादिनं]¹⁸ पुद्गलमृत्तानुधर्माणामप्रतिनिसृष्टे तस्मिन् पापके दृष्टिगते आला[पयेत् संलपेत् तेन सार्धं संवसेत् संभुजीत सहागारशय्यामपि कल्पयेत्पायन्तिका ।]¹

५७ । श्रमणोद्देशश्चाप्येव' वदेत्तथाहं भगवतो धर्मं' देशितमाजानामि यथा [ये अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता भगवता ते च प्रतिसेव्यमाना नालमन्तरायायेति ।]²⁰ सः श्रमणोद्देशो भिक्षुभिरिदं स्याद्वचनीयो मा त्वमायुष्मन् श्रमणोद्देश एव वोचः [तथाहं भगवतो धर्मं' देशितमाजानामि यथा ये अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता]²¹ भगवता ते च प्रतिसेव्यमाना नालमन्तरायायेति । मा भगवन्तमभ्याचक्षुः न साधु भव[ति भगवतोऽभ्याख्यानं न च पुनर्भगवान्नेवाह अनेकपर्यायेण श्र]²²मणोद्देश अन्तरायिका धर्माः सन्तः अन्तरायिका एवोक्ता भगवता ते च प्रतिसेव्यमाना [अलमन्तरायायेति । निसृज त्वम् श्रमणोद्देश एवरूपं दृष्टिगतम् ।]²³ सः श्रमणोद्देशो भिक्षुभिरुच्यमानस्तद्वस्तु चेत् प्रतिनिसृजेदित्येव' कुशलं, [नो चेत्प्रतिनिसृजेद्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयोक्तव्यः समनुशासितव्यस्तस्य वस्तुनः प्रतिनिःसर्गाय, द्विरपि त्रिरपि समनुयुज्यमानः समनुशिष्यमानस्तद्वस्तु प्रतिनिसृजेदित्येव' कुशलं नो चेत् प्रतिनिसृजेत् सः]²⁴ श्रमणोद्देशो भिक्षुभिरिदं स्याद्वचनीयोऽद्याग्रेणायुष्मन् श्रमणोद्देश नासौ भगवां-

17 Tib. gal-te-mi-gtoñ-na-ltuñ-byed-do.

18 Tib. yañ-dge-sloñ-gañ. shes-bzhin-du-de-skad-zer.

19 Tib. gñam-hdre-bar-byed. phebs-par-smra-bar-byed, kun-tu-gñas-par-byed. kun-tu-loñ-spyod-par-byed-ciñ. de-dañ-lhan-cig-gñas-gcig-tu-ñab-nahañ-ltuñ-byed-do.

20 Tib. ji-ltar-bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis-hdod-pa-dag-ni-bar-du-gcod-pañi-zhes-gsuñs-pa-gañ-yin-pa-de-dag-bstan-kyañ-bar-du-gcod-par-mi-hgyur-te.

21 Tib. ji-ltar.....hdod-pa-dag-ni-bar-du-gcod-pañi-zhes-gzhuñs-pa.....de-ltar-bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis-chos-bstan-pa-bdag-gis-shes-so.

22 Tib. bcom-ldan-hdas-la-skur-pas-legs-par-mi-hgyuro. bcom-ldan-hdas-ni-de-skad-mi-gsuñ-ño.....dge-tshul.....rnam-grañs-du-mar.

23 Tib.....bar-du-gcod-par-hgyur-gyis. dge-tshul-khyod-lta-bañi-rnam-pa-hdi-lta-bu-hdi-thoñ-shig-bsgo-bar-byañho.

24 Tib. gal-te-mi-gtoñ-na-gzhi-de-gtoñ-bar-bya-lañi-phyir. lan-gñis-lan-gsum-du-yañ-dag-par-bsgo-bar-bya. yañ-dag-par-bstan-par-byañho. lan-gñis-lan-gsum-du-yañ-dag-par-bsgo. yañ-dag-par-bstan-pa-na. gzhi-de-gtoñ-na-de-lta-na-legs. gal-te-mi-gtoñ-na.....de-la...

स्तथागतः [अर्हत्सम्यक्संबुद्धस्ते शास्ता । एवंरूपस्यान्यतमान्यतमस्य ब्रह्म-
चारिणः पृष्टतः मा समनुवधान]²⁵ यावदप्यन्ये श्रमणोद्देशाः [लभन्ते भिक्षुभिः
सार्धं द्विगत्रपरमं सहागारशय्यां सापि ते अद्याप्रेण नास्ति, चर परेण मोह-
पुरुष नश्यति । यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्जीनन् तथानाशितं श्रमणोद्देशमुपस्थापयेद्वा
उपलालयेद्वा तेन वा सार्धं सहागारशय्यां कल्पयेत्पायन्तिका ।]²⁶

५८ । [नवं खलु भिक्षुणा चीवरं प्रतिलभ्य त्रयाणां दुर्वर्णीकरणानामन्य-
तमान्यतमः नीलो वा लोहितो वा पीतो वा दुर्वर्णीकरणाय आदानव्योऽनादाय
चेद्भिक्षुम्रयाणां दुर्वर्णीकरणानामन्यतमान्यतमं दुर्वर्णीकरणम् नीलं वा लोहितं
वा पीतं वा नवं चीवरं परिभुंजीत पायन्तिका ।]²⁷

५९ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षु रत्नं वा रत्नसंमतं वा स्वहस्तेन उद्गृह्णीयादुद्ग्राहये-
द्धान्यत्राध्यारामगताद्वाध्यावासगताद्वा पायन्तिका । भिक्षुणाध्यारामगतं
वाध्यावासगतं वा रत्नं वा रत्नसंमतं वा उद्ग्रहीतव्यं यस्येदं भविष्यति सो
हरिष्यति इत्येवं मनसि कृत्वा । अयं तत्र समयः ।]²⁸

६० । [भगवता देशितमन्वर्धमासं स्नायादन्यत्र समयात् तदतिक्रमात्पाय-
न्तिका । अयं तत्र समयः—अध्यर्धो मासः शेषो ग्रीष्माणां पूर्वो मासो वर्षाणां
इत्येते अर्धतृतीयमासा उष्णसमयोऽवशिष्टं ग्लानसमयः कर्मसमयो वृष्टिसमयो
वातवृष्टिसमयोऽयं तत्र समयः ।]²⁹

६१ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः संचिन्त्य निर्यग्योनिगतं प्राणिनं जीवितान् व्यपरो-
पयेत्पायन्तिका ।]³⁰

६२ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः संचिन्त्य कच्चिदस्य भिक्षोर्मुहूर्तमपि तावदफाणं स्पर्शं
भवेदेतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा भिक्षोर्कौक्यमुपसंहरेत्पायन्तिका ।]³¹

25 Tib.dgra-bcom- pa-yañ-dag-par-rdsogs-paḥi-saṅs-rgyas-de-la-ston-
paḥo, zhes-ma-zer-cig, tshañs-pa-mtshuñs-par-spyod-mkhas-pa-bla-maḥi-gnas-lta-
bu-gaṅ-yañ-ruñ baḥu-phyi-bzhin-du-yañ-ma-lgro-shig.

26 Tib. dge-sloñ-rnamis-dañ, dge-tshul-lhan-cig-nub-gñis-tshun-chad-gnas-
geig-tu-ñal-du-dbañ-ba-gaṅ-yin-de-deñ-phyin-chad - khyed-la-med-de, gñi-mug-
can-khyod-bsñil- gyis-gzhan-du- soñ-shig-ces- bsgo-bar-byaḥo, yañ-dge-sloñ-gaṅ-
shes-bzhin-du, de-ltar-bsñil-baḥi-dge-tshul, ñe-bar-ljog-par-byed-do, ñe-bar-ston-
par-byed-dam, de-dañ-lhan-cig-gnas-cig-tu-ñal-na-ltuñ-byed-do.

27 *So-sor-thar-pa*, p. 89, l. 5-9; cf. Finot's edition.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 89, l. 10-17; cf. *op. cit.*

29 *Ibid.*, p. 89, l. 18—p. 90, l. 3; cf. *op. cit.*

30 *Ibid.*, p. 90, l. 9-10; cf. *op. cit.*

31 *Ibid.*, p. 90, l. 11-13; cf. *op. cit.*

६३ । [अङ्गुलिप्रतोदनात्पायन्तिका ।]³²

६४ । [उदकहर्षणात्पायन्तिका ।]³³

६५ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्मातृग्रामेण सार्धं सहागारशय्यां कल्पयेत्पायन्तिका ।]³⁴

६६ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुं भीषयेत् भीषापयेद्दान्ततो ह्यास्यप्रेक्ष्यमपि पायन्तिका ।]³⁵

६७ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षोर्वा भिक्षुण्या वा शिक्षमाणाया वा श्रामणेस्स वा श्रामणेरिकाया वा पात्रं वा चीवरं वा उपानहं वा सूत्रोघ्रं वा कायबन्धनं वान्यतमान्यतमं वा जीवितपरिष्कारमुपनिध्यादुपनिधापयेत्तद्रूपप्रत्ययादन्यत्र पायन्तिका ।]³⁶

६८ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षोश्चीवरं विकल्प्य ततः पश्चादप्रत्युद्धार्य परिभुंजीत पायन्तिका ।]³⁷

६९ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः कुपितो नात्तमना परिशुद्धं अनापत्तिकं भिक्षुं अमूलकेन रुंघ्रावशेषेण धर्मेणानुध्वंसयेत्पायन्तिका ।]³⁸

७० । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरपुरुषया स्त्रिया सार्धं संविधायाध्वमार्गं प्रतिपद्येतान्ततो ग्रामान्तरमपि पायन्तिका ।]³⁹

७१ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः स्तेयसार्थेन सार्धं संविधायाध्वमार्गं प्रतिपद्येतान्ततो ग्रामान्तरमपि पायन्तिका ।]⁴⁰

७२ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरूतविंशवर्षं पुद्गलं भिक्षुभावायोपसंपादयेत् पायन्तिका । स च पुद्गलोनुपसंपन्नस्ते च भिक्षवो गह्वा अयं तत्र समयः ।]⁴¹

७३ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः स्वहस्तेन पृथिवीं खन्यात् खानयेद्वा पायन्तिका ।]⁴²

७४ । [चातुर्मासिकप्रवारणा भिक्षुणा स्वीकर्तव्या ततोत्तरं पायन्तिका । प्रत्येकप्रवारणाया पुनः पुनः प्रवारणायाः कालिकप्रवारणाया नित्यप्रवारणाया अन्यत्र अयं तत्र समयः ।]⁴³

७५ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुभिरायुष्मता त्वया शिक्षायां शिक्षितव्यमिति

32 *So-sor-thar-pa*, p. 90, l. 14; cf. Finot's edition.

33 *Ibid*, p. 90, l. 15; cf. *op. cit.*

34 *Ibid*, p. 90, l. 16-17; cf. *op. cit.*

35 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 18-19; cf. *op. cit.*

36 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 5; cf. *op. cit.*

37 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 6-7; cf. *op. cit.*

38 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 8-10; cf. *op. cit.*

39 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 11-12; cf. *op. cit.*

40 *Ibid*, p. 91, l. 18-19; cf. *op. cit.*

41 *Ibid*, p. 92, l. 1-4; cf. *op. cit.*

42 *Ibid*, p. 92, l. 5-6; cf. *op. cit.*

43 *Ibid*, p. 92, l. 7-11; cf. *op. cit.*

उच्यमान एवं वदेन्नाहं तव बालस्य मूढस्य दुष्पक्षस्य वचनानि शिक्षिष्यामि यावन्नाहं भिक्षून् प्रक्ष्यामि सूत्रधरान् विनयधरान् मातृकधरानिति पायन्तिका । सर्वज्ञताकामेन भिक्षुणा शिक्षायां शिक्षितव्यं भिक्षवः प्रष्टव्या सूत्रधरा विनयधरा मातृकधरा अयं तत्र समयः] ¹⁴

७६ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुभिक्षुणां कलहजातानां भण्डनजातानां भेदगृहीतानां विवादमापन्नानां तूष्णीमुपश्रुतिकस्तिष्ठेन् यदेते भिक्षवो वक्ष्यन्ति तदहं धारयिष्यामीति एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा पायन्तिका ।] ¹⁵

७७ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः संघे धार्मिकायां विनिश्चयकथायां वर्तमानायां आसनात् तूष्णीमुत्थाय प्रक्रमेन् सन्तं भिक्षुमनवपृच्छ्यान्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायन्तिका ।] ¹⁶

७८ । [अनादरवृत्तात्पायन्तिका ।] ¹⁷

७९ । [सुरामैरेयमद्यपानात्पायन्तिका ।] ¹⁸

८० । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरकाले ग्रामं प्रविशेन् सन्तं भिक्षुमनवपृच्छ्य अन्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायन्तिका ।] ¹⁹

८१ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुः सभक्तः कुले निमन्त्रितः पूर्वभक्तं पश्चाद्भक्तं कुलेषु चारित्रमापद्येत सन्तं कुलं अप्रतिसंवेदिनोऽन्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायान्तिका ।] ²⁰

८२ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरनिर्गतायां रजन्यां अनुद्गतेऽरुणे अनिर्हृतेषु रत्नेषु रत्नसंमतेषु वा राज्ञः क्षत्रियस्य मूर्ध्नाभिपिक्तस्य इन्द्रकीलं वा इन्द्रकीलसामन्तं वा समतिक्रमेदन्यत्र तद्रूपात्प्रत्ययात्पायन्तिका] ²¹

८३ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रे उद्दिश्यमाने एवं वदेदिदानीमहं जानामि आयुष्मन्तोऽयमपि किल धर्मो सूत्रागतो सूत्रपर्यायापन्नोद्देश्यमागच्छतीति, तत्रायुष्मन्तं चेद्भिक्षवो जानीयुः निष्पन्नपूर्वं आयुष्मता द्व्यत्रिक्तत्वं पोषधे, को पुनो वादो भूय इति, आयुष्मतोऽज्ञानतः न मुक्तिः यत आपत्तिमापन्नो ततो यथाधर्मं कारयितव्य उत्तरं च कौकृत्यमारोपयितव्यं—आयुष्मन् ते अलाभोऽलब्धः दुर्लब्धो न सुलब्धो यत्त्वं अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्दिश्यमाने न सत्कृत्य शृणोपि न गुह्यकरोपि नार्थिकरोपि न मनसिकरोपि

44 So *sor-thar-pi*, p. 92, l. 12-20; cf. Finot's edition.

45 *Ibid*, p. 93, l. 1-5; cf. *op. cit.*

46 *Ibid*, p. 93, l. 6-9; cf. *op. cit.*

47 *Ibid*, p. 93, l. 10; cf. *op. cit.*

48 *Ibid*, p. 93, l. 11-12; cf. *op. cit.*

49 *Ibid*, p. 93, l. 13-15; cf. *op. cit.*

50 *Ibid*, p. 94, l. 1-3; cf. *op. cit.*

51 *Ibid*, p. 94, l. 4-7; cf. *op. cit.*

एकाग्रचित्तेनावहितश्रोत्रेण न शृणोपि सर्वचित्तसंकल्पैरपि न शृणोपि ।
आयुष्मन् तत्र कौकृत्यात्पायन्तिका ।]⁵²

८३ । [यः पुनर्भिश्चुरस्थिमयं वा विषाणमयं वा सूचिधरं कारयेत् तद्धेदना-
त्पायन्तिका ।]⁵³

८५ । [भिक्षुणा संघस्य पीठं वा मञ्चं कारयता सुगताष्टाङ्गुलिप्रमाणाः
पादाः कारयितव्या अन्यत्र अधस्तात् अटन्याः तत उत्तरं कारयेच्छेदनात्पाय-
न्तिका ।]⁵⁴

८६ । [यः पुनर्भिश्चुस्तूलसंस्तृतं पीठं वा मञ्चं अवनहेदवनाहयेद्वा उद्वल-
नात्पायन्तिका ।]⁵⁵

८७ । [निपीदनं भिक्षुणा कारयता प्रामाणिकं कारयितव्यं तत्रेदं प्रमाणं—
दीर्घतो वितस्त्री द्वे सुगतवितस्त्यस्तिर्यक् सार्धवितस्तिर्दशानाञ्च वितस्तिस्तत
उत्तरं कारयेत्त्रेदनात्पायन्तिका ।]⁵⁶

८८ । [कण्डुप्रतिच्छादनं भिक्षुणा कारयता प्रामाणिकं कारयितव्यं तत्रेदं
प्रमाणं—दीर्घतश्चतस्रो वितस्तयो सुगतवितस्त्यस्तिर्यग् द्वे तत उत्तरं कारये-
च्छेदनात्पायन्तिका ।]⁵⁷

८९ । [वर्षाशाटीचीवरं भिक्षुणा कारयता प्रामाणिकं कारयितव्यं तत्रेदं
प्रमाणं—दीर्घतः षट् वितस्तयो सुगतवितस्त्यस्तिर्यक् सार्धं द्वे तत उत्तरं
कारयेच्छेदनात्पायन्तिका ।]⁵⁸

९० । [यः पुनर्भिश्चुः सुगतचीवरप्रमाणं चीवरं कारयेदुत्तरं वा सुगत-
चीवरात्पायन्तिका । तत्रेदं सुगतचीवरप्रमाणं दीर्घतो नव वितस्तयः तिर्यक् षट्
वितस्तयः इदं सुगतचीवरप्रमाणम् ।]⁵⁹

[उद्दिष्टा मयायुष्मन्तो नवतिः पायन्तिका धर्माः । तत्राहमायुष्मन्तः पृच्छामि-
कच्चित्स्थान परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवाहं धारयामि ।]⁶⁰

52 *So-sor-thar-pa*, p. 94, l. 8-20 and p. 95, l. 1-2 ; cf. Finot's edition.

53 *Ibid.* p. 95, l. 3-4 ; cf. *op. cit.*

54 *Ibid.* p. 95, l. 4-8 ; cf. *op. cit.*

55 *Ibid.* p. 95, l. 9-10 ; cf. *op. cit.*

56 *Ibid.* p. 93, l. 11-14 ; cf. *op. cit.*

57 *Ibid.* p. 95, l. 15-18 ; cf. *op. cit.*

58 *Ibid.* p. 95, l. 19-20 and p. 96, l. 1-2 ; cf. *op. cit.*

59 *Ibid.* p. 96, l. 3-8 ; cf. *op. cit.*

60 *Ibid.* p. 96, l. 0-13 ; cf. *op. cit.*

[चत्वारः प्रतिदेशनीया धर्माः ।]⁶¹

| इमे खल्वायुष्मन्तः चत्वारः प्रतिदेशनीया धर्मा अन्यर्धमासम् प्रातिमोक्ष-
सूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।]⁶²

१ । [यः पुनर्भिक्षुरन्तर्गृहं पिण्डाय चरन्त्या अज्ञात्या भिक्षुण्याः सन्तिका-
त्सहस्तं खादनीयभोजनीयं प्रतिगृह्य खादेत् वा भुञ्जीत वा तेन भिक्षुणा वहिरा-
रामं गत्वा भिक्षोरन्तिके प्रतिदेशयितव्यं गृह्यमासमायुष्मन्तः स्थानमापन्नोऽ-
सात्स्यं प्रतिदेशनीयं तं धर्मं प्रतिदेशयामीति अयमपि धर्मः प्रतिदेशनीयः ।]⁶³

२ । [संवहुला भिक्षवः कुलेषु निमन्त्रिता भुञ्जीरन् तत्र चेद् भिक्षुणी व्यप-
देशमाना स्थिता स्यादिह भोजनीयं दत्त ओदनं दत्त सूपं दत्तेति, सा भिक्षुणी
भिक्षुभिरेवं स्याद्वचनीया आगमयस्व भगिनि मुहूर्तं यावद्भिक्षवो भुञ्जते ।
एकेनापि भिक्षुणा चेत् तां भिक्षुणीमपसारयितुं न वचनीयं, सर्वैर्भिक्षुभिः
वहिरारामं गत्वा भिक्षूणामन्तिके प्रतिदेशितव्यं गृह्यं]⁶⁴ मायुष्मन्तः स्थानमापन्ना
असात्स्यं प्रतिदेशनीयं तं धर्मं प्रतिदेशयाम इति, अयमपि धर्मः प्रतिदेशनीयः ।

३ । यानि तानि कुलानि शिक्षासंवृतिसंमतानि यः पुनर्भिक्षुस्तद्रूपेषु
सङ्गस्य शौक्ष्ण्येषु कुलेषु शिक्षासंवृतिसंमतेषु पुर्वमप्रचारितस्य खादनीयभोजनीयं
प्रतिगृह्य⁶⁵ खादेत्भुञ्जीत वा तेन भिक्षुणा वहिरारामं गत्वा भिक्षूणामन्तिके प्रति-
देशनीयं तत्स्थानमापन्नोऽसात्स्यं⁶⁶ प्रतिदेशनीयं तं धर्मं प्रतिदेशयामीति, अयमपि
धर्मः प्रतिदेशनीयः ।

४ । यानि तानि कानि शयनासनानि साशङ्कसंमतानि सभयसंमतानि
सप्रतिभयभैरवसंमतानि यः पुनर्भिक्षुस्तद्रूपेषु संवसारण्यकेषु शयनेषु साशंक-

61 Tib. so-sor-bshags par-bya-baḥi-chos-bzhi.

62 So-sor-thar p.t. p. 97, l. 1-2; cf. Finot's edition.

63 Ibid, p. 97, l. 3-9; cf. op. cit.

64 Tib. dge-sloñ-rab-tu-mañ-po khyim-rnams-su ḥgron-du-bos-nas zan-za-
baḥi-tshe-na. gal-te-dge- sloñ-ma-zhig- ḥdi-la-mi-bcaḥ- ba-byin-cig. ḥdi-la-ḥbras-
can-byin-cig. ḥdi-la-mi-sran-tshod-byin-cig. ḥdi-la-mi-yañ-byin-cig-ces-sgo-zhiñ-
ḥdug-na. dge-sloñ-ma-de-la-dge-sloñ-rnams-kyis-ḥdi-skad-ces-siñ-mo-khyod-dge-
sloñ-rnams-zan-za-baḥi-bar-du-re-shig-sdod- cig-ces-bsgo - bar-byaḥo. gal-te-dge-
sloñ-gcig-gis-kyañ-dge-sloñ-ma-de-la-de-skad-smra-ba-spobas-na. dge-sloñ-de-dag-
th im-s-cad-kyis-phi-yi-rol-kun-dgaḥ-ra-bar-don-ste. dge-sloñ-rnams-la-tshe-dañ-
ldan-pa-dag-bdag-cag-la-smad-paḥi-gnas-mi-rigs-pa.

65 Tib. adds rañ-gi-lag-gis (= स्वहस्तेन) immediately before it.

66 Tib. adds smad-paḥi (= गृह्यं) immediately before it.

संमतेषु सभयसंमतेषु सप्रतिभयभैरवसंमतेषु पूर्वमप्रतिसंविद्यते वने बहिरा-
रामस्य खादनीयभोजनीयं खादेत्भुञ्जीत वा तेन भिक्षुणा भिक्षूणामन्तिके प्रति-
देशयितव्यं गृह्यमस्यायुष्मन्तः स्थानमापन्नोऽसात्म्यं प्रतिदेशनीयं तं धर्मं प्रति-
देशयामीति, अयमपि धर्मः प्रतिदेशनीयः ।

उद्दिष्टा मयायुष्मन्तश्चत्वारः प्रतिदेशनीया धर्माः । तत्राऽहमायुष्मन्तः परि-
पृच्छामि—कञ्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि—कञ्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः !

परिशुद्धा आयुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

[संवहुलाः शक्षा धर्माः ।]⁶⁷

इमे खल्वायुष्मन्तः संवहुलाः शैक्षा धर्मा अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमा-
[गच्छन्ति ।]⁶⁸

- १ । परिमण्डलं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- २ । नात्युत्कृष्टं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ३ । नात्यवकृष्टं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ४ । न हस्तिशुण्डकं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ५ । न ताल[पत्र]⁶⁹ निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ६ । [न कुल्मापपिण्डकं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।]⁷⁰
- ७ । न नागशीर्षकं निवासनं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८ । परिमण्डलं चीवरं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ९ । [नात्युत्कृष्टं चीवरं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।]⁷¹
- १० । [नोत्युपकृष्टं चीवरं निवासयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।]⁷²
- ११ । सुसंवृता अन्तर्गृहे गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- १२ । ५ प्रतिच्छन्ना अन्तर्गृहे गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- १३ । अल्पशब्दा अन्तर्गृहे गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- १४ । अनुत्क्षिप्तचक्षुषोन्तर्गृहे गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- १५ । १ गमात्रदर्शिनोन्तर्गृहे गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- १६ । नोद्गुण्डिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

67 Tib. bslab-paḥi-chos-maṅ-po.

68 Tib.ḥbyuñ-ño.

69 Tib. lo-ma.

70 Tib. ḥbruhi-phur-ma-ltar-ma-yin-pa-dañ.

71 Tib. chos-gos-ha-cañ-rtseñs-pa-ma-yin-pa-dañ.

72 Tib. ha-cañ-ḥjol-ba-ma-yin-par-bgo-bar-bslab-par-byaho.

- १७ । नोत्कृष्टिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १८ । नेत्सक्तिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १९ । न व्यस्तिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २० । न पर्यस्तिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २१ । नोलम्बिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २२ । नोदृग्मिकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २३ । नोत्कृटकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २४ । न निकटोत्कृटकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २५ । न स्कम्बाकृता अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २६ । न कायप्रचालकं अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २७ । न बाहुप्रचालकं अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २८ । न शीर्षप्रचालकं अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 २९ । नांसोत्फतिकया⁷³ अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३० । न हस्तसंलग्निकया अन्तर्गृहं गमिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३१ । नानुज्ञाता अन्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३२ । नाप्रतिवेक्ष्यासनं अन्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३३ । न सर्वकायं समवधायान्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३४ । न पादे पादमाधायान्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३५ । न गुल्फे गुल्फमाधायान्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३६ । न सक्थनि सक्थि आदायान्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३७ । न संक्षिप्य पादौ अन्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३८ । न विक्षिप्य पादौ अन्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ३९ । न व्यतङ्गिकया अन्तर्गृहे आसने निपत्स्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ४० । सत्कृत्य पिण्डपातं प्रतिग्रहीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ४१ । समतीर्थिकं पिण्डपातं प्रतिग्रहीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ४२ । समसूपिकं पिण्डपातं प्रात्लेह्यीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४३ । सावदानं पिण्डपातं प्रतिग्रहीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४४ । न अनागते खादनीयभोजनीये पात्रमुपनामयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४५ । नोदनेन सूपिकं प्रतिच्छादयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४६ । सूपिकेन वा ओदनं भूयस्कामतामुपादाय इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४७ । नोपरि खादनीयभोजनीयस्य पात्रम् धारयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४८ । सत्कृत्य पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

४९ । नानिखण्डकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५० । नातिमहान्तं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५१ । परिमण्डलं आलोपमालोपयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५२ । न अनागते आलोपे मुखद्वारं विवरिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५३ । न सालोपेन मुखेन वाचं प्रव्याहरिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५४ । न चुच्चत्कारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५५ । न शुशुत्कारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५६ । न थुत्युत्कारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५७ । न फुफ्फुकारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५८ । न जिह्वानिश्चारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

५९ । न सिक्थपृथक्कारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६० । नावरणकारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६१ । न गल्लापहारकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६२ । न जिह्वास्फोटकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६३ । न कवलच्छेदकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६४ । न हस्तावलेहकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६५ । न पात्रावलेहकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६६ । न हस्तसंधूनकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६७ । न पात्रसंधूनकं पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६८ । न स्तूपाकृतिमवगृह्य पिण्डपातं परिभोक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

६९ । नावधानप्रेक्षिणोऽन्तरिकस्य भिक्षोः पात्रमवलोकयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

७० । न सामिषेण पाणिना उदकस्थालकं ग्रहीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

- ७१ । न सामिवेणोदकेनान्तरिकं भिक्षुं सेक्ष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७२ । न सामिपमुदकमन्तर्गृहे छोरयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७३ । न पात्रेण विघसंश्छोरयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७४ । नानास्तीर्णे पृथिवोप्रदेशे पात्रं स्थापयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७५ । न तटे न प्रपाते न प्राग्भारे पात्रं स्थापयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७६ । नोत्थिताः पात्रं निर्मादयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७७ । न तटे न प्रपाते न प्राग्भारे पात्रं निर्मादयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७८ । न नद्याः कार्यकारिण्या प्रतिस्त्रोतः पात्रोदकं ग्रहीष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ७९ । न उत्थिता निपण्णायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८० । न निपण्णा निपन्नायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८१ । न नीचतरके आसने निपण्णा उच्चतरके आसने निपण्णायाग्लानाय देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८२ । न पृष्ठतो गच्छन्तः पुरतो गच्छते अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८३ । नोन्मार्गेण गच्छन्तो मार्गेण गच्छते अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८४ । नोद्गुण्टिकाकृतायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८५ । नोत्कृष्टिकाकृतायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८६ । नोत्सक्तिकाकृतायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८७ । न व्यस्तिकाकृतायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८८ । न पर्यस्तिकाकृतायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ८९ । नोष्णीषशिरसे अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ९० । न खोलाशिरसे अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ९१ । न मौलिशिरसे अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
- ९२ । न मालाशिरसे अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।

- ९३ । न वेष्टितशिरसे अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९४ । न हस्त्यारूढाय अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९५ । न अश्वारूढाय अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९६ । न शिविकारूढाय अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९७ । न यत्तारूढाय अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९८ । न पादुकारूढाय अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 ९९ । न दण्डपाणये अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०० । न छत्रपाणये अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०१ । न शस्त्रपाणये अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०२ । न खड्गपाणये अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०३ । नायुधपाणये अग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०४ । सन्नद्धायाग्लानाय धर्मं देशयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०५ । नाग्लाना उत्थिता उच्चारप्रस्त्रावं करिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०६ । नाग्लानाः उदके उच्चारप्रस्त्रावं खेटं सिंघाणकं वान्तं विरिक्तं छोरयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०७ । नाग्लाना सहरिते पृथिवीप्रदेशे उच्चारप्रस्त्रावं खेटं सिंघाणकं वान्तं विरिक्तं छोरयिष्याम इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 १०८ । नासाधिकपौरुषं वृक्षमधिरोक्ष्यामोन्यत्रापद इति शिक्षा करणीया ।
 उद्दिष्टा मे आयुष्मन्तो संवहुला [शैक्षा]⁷⁴ धर्माः । तत्राहमायुष्मन्तः परिपृच्छामि—कच्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कच्चित्स्थात्र परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा आयुष्मन्तो यस्यास्तुष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

[सप्त अधिकरणशमथाः धर्माः ।]⁷⁵

इमे खल्वायुष्मन्तः सप्ताधिकरणशमथाः धर्मा अन्वर्धमासं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रोद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

संमुखविनयार्हाय संमुखविनयं दास्यामः । स्मृतिविनयार्हाय स्मृतिविनयं दास्यामः । अमूढविनयार्हाय अमूढविनयं दास्यामः । यद्भूयेपिपार्हाय यद्भूयेपियं दास्यामः । तत्स्वभावेपियार्हाय तत्स्वभावेपियं दास्यामः । तृण-

74 Tib. bslab-palji.

75 Tib. rtsod-pa-zhi-bar-bya-baḥi-chos-bdun.

प्रस्तारकाहोय तृणप्रस्तारकं दास्यामः । प्रतिज्ञाकारकाहोय प्रतिज्ञां दास्यामः ।

उत्पन्नोत्पन्नान्यधिकरणान्येभिः सप्तभिरधिकरणशमथैर्धर्मैर्दण्डिष्यामः शम-
यिष्यामो व्युपशमयिष्यामो धर्माद्विद्वेद शास्तुः शासनेन ।

उद्दिष्टा मे आयुष्मन्तः सप्ताधिकरणशमथा धर्माः ।

तत्राहमायुष्मन्तः परिपृच्छामि—कञ्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

द्विरपि त्रिरपि परिपृच्छामि—कञ्चित्स्थानं परिशुद्धाः ?

परिशुद्धा आयुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतद् धारयामि ।

क्षान्तिः परमं तपस्तिनिक्षा

निर्वाणं परमं वदन्ति बुद्धाः ।

न हि प्रव्रजितः परोपतापी

श्रमणो भवति परान्विहेठयानः⁷⁶ ॥१॥

चक्षुष्मान्विषमाणीव⁷⁷ विद्यमाने पराक्रमे ।

पण्डितो जीवलोकेस्मिन् पापानि परिवर्जयेत् ॥२॥

अनुपवादोऽनुपघातः प्रातिमोक्षे च संवरः ।

मात्रज्ञता च भक्तेस्मिन् प्रान्तं च शयनासनं

अधिचित्ते समायोग एतद्बुद्धानुशासनम्⁷⁸ ॥३॥

यथाहि भ्रमरः पुष्पाद्वर्णगन्धावलोठयन् ।

द्रयते रसमादाय एवं ग्रामे मुनिश्चरेत्⁷⁹ ॥४॥

न परेषां विलोमानि न परेषां कृताकृतम् ।

आत्मनस्तु समीक्षेन समानि विषमाणि च⁸⁰ ॥५॥

अधिचेतसि मा ग्रामोद्यतो मुनिनो मौनिपदेषु शिक्षिताः ।

शोका न भवन्ति तायिनः उपशान्तस्य सदा स्मृतिमतः ॥६॥

ददतः पुण्यं प्रवर्धते वैरं संयमतो न चीयते ।

कुशली प्रजहाति पापकं क्लेशानां क्षयितस्तु निर्वृतिः ॥७॥

सर्वपापस्याकरणं कुशलस्योपसंपदा ।

स्वचित्तपरिद्विष्टः तद्बुद्धानुशासनम्⁸¹ ॥८॥

76 cf. *Dhammapada*, *Buddhavagga*, verse 6.

77 Ms. ०न्धिष० ; Tib. ñam-ña-ba.

78 cf. *Dhammapada*, *Buddhavagga*, verse 7.

79 cf. *Ibid.*, *Pupphavagga*, verse 6.

80 cf. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, verse 7.

81 cf. *Ibid.*, *Buddhavagga*, verse 5.

कायेन संवरः साधुः साधुः वाचा च संवरः ।
 मनसा संवरः साधुः साधुः सर्वत्र संवरः ।
 सर्वत्र संवृतो भिक्षुः सर्वदुःखात्प्रमुच्यते⁸² ॥९॥
 वाचानुरक्षी मनसा सुसंवृतः कायेन चैवाकुशलं न कुर्यात् ।
 एतच्चिकर्मपथान्विशोध्य नारागयेन्मार्गमृषिप्रवेदिनम् ॥१०॥
 बुद्धो विपश्यी च शिखी च विश्वभू
 क्रकुत्सन्दः कनकमुनिश्च काश्यपः ।
 अनन्तरः शाक्यमुनिश्च गौतमो
 देवातिदेवो नरदम्यसारथिः ॥११॥
 सप्तानां बुद्धधीराणां लोकनाथाग्रनाथिनां ।
 उद्दिष्टः प्रातिमोक्षोयं विस्तरेण यशस्विनाम् ॥१२॥
 अस्मिन्सगौरवा बुद्धा बुद्धानां श्रावकाश्च ये ।
 अस्मिन्सगौरवा भूत्वा प्राप्तमध्वमसंस्कृतम् ॥१३॥
 आरब्ध्वं निष्कामत युक्तयाध्वं बुद्धशासने ।
 धुनीत मृत्युनः सैन्यं नडागारमिव कुञ्जरः⁸³ ॥१४॥
 यो ह्यस्मिन्धर्मविनये अप्रमत्तश्चरिष्यति ।
 प्रहाय जातिसंसारं दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यति⁸⁴ ॥१५॥
 अन्योन्यं शीलगुण्यर्थं शासनस्य च वृद्धये ।
 उद्दिष्टः प्रातिमोक्षोयं कृतसंघेन पोषधः ॥१६॥
 यस्यार्थे सूत्रमुद्दिष्टं यस्यार्थे पोषधः कृतः ।
 तच्छीलमनुरक्षध्वं बालाग्रं चमरो यथा ॥१७॥
 प्रातिमोक्षसमुद्देशाद्यत्पुण्यं समुपार्जितं ।
 अक्षोपस्तेन लोकोयं मौनीन्द्रं पदमाप्नुयान् ॥१८॥

॥ प्रातिमोक्षः समाप्तः ॥

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

82 cf. *Dhammapada*, Bhikkhuvagga, verse 2.

83 *Sāmyutta Nikāya* (P.T.S., ed.), pt. I, p. 157:—

आरब्धमथ निक्खमथ युञ्जथ बुद्धमाप्नोते ।

धुनाथ मच्चुनो सेनं नाळागारं व कुञ्जरो ॥

84 *Ibid*, p. 157:—

यो इमस्मिं धम्मविनये अप्रमत्तो विहस्सति ।

पहाय जातिसंसरं दुक्खस्सन्तं करिस्सतोति ॥

Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa*

193. SAKUNA = "A large bird, or a bird which gives omens".

AK. 89/131. शक्रोतोति, शक्रेऽनोन्तन्युनयः (उ० ३ ४६)

Adi—ii (18b).

Ara—vii (4a), lxxxi (20a).

Yud—xiii (8a), xv (20b), lxxiv (15b).

Utt—v (28b), xxi (10a),

194. SAKUNI = Bird. "It is used practically like *Śakuna*, but with a much clearer reference to divination. It was smaller than the *Śyena* or *Suparna*, gave signs, and foretold ill-luck".—(Keith : Vedic Index, ii, 347).

Ara—xv (41b), xvii (17b), lxxv (38b).

195. SAKULA = A kind of fish (perhaps, the gilt-headed).

AK. 42/64. शक्रोति गन्तुम् शकुलः । शकुलोऽत्र मत्स्यमात्रे ।

Ara—lxxviii (9a).

196. SAṆKHA = Conch.

AK. 43/65. शं खनति शाम्यति वा शङ्खः ।

Ara—xx (27b).

Kis—xxxviii (33a), xxxix (19a), xliii (32b).

Sun—ix (12a), xi (2a), xii (22b), xxxii (41b), xciv (13a),
xcv (20a).

Yud—xix (14b), xxvi (42b), xxxa (25b, 26a), xxxi (31b),
xxxv (2a), xxxvii (37a, 39b, 41a, 50a), xliv (29b),
xlix (25a), lii (13a), lviii (19a), ciii (13a), cix (17b),
cxii (12a, 15b), cxiii (29a).

Utt—vii (9b, 10a, 11a, 12b, 16a, 24a, 37a), xxiii (7a).

* Continued from p. 285 of vol. XXIX, No. 3.

193 *Rv.*, iv, 26, 6; ix, 85, 11; *Av.*, xii, 1, 51; *Tait. Sam.*, iii, 2, 6, 2; *Vāja. Sam.*, xviii, 53; *Nirukta*, iii, 18; *Kaus. Brā.*, vii, 4; *Mait. Upa.*, vi, 34.

194 *Rv.*, ii, 42, 2; *Av.*, x, 3, 6; *Tait. Sam.*, v, 5, 19, 1; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv, 40; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 21; *Kāth. Sam.*, xxv, 7; *Ait. Brā.*, ii, 15, 12; *Sata. Brā.*, xiv, 1, 1, 31; *Chānd. Upa.*, vi, 8, 2.

195 *Av.*, xx, 136, 1; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiii, 28; *Mbh.*

196 *Av.*, iv, 10, 1; *Bṛhad. Upa.*, ii, 4, 9; iv, 5, 10.

197. ŚABALĀ = Spotted cow.

“शबलावर्णा गौः । इत्यमर भरतौ ॥”—(शब्दकल्पद्रुम, ५१८०)

Adi—liv (10b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 22b, 23b), lv (1b, 2a).

198. ŚARABHA = A kind of deer.

AK. 86/126. शृणाति शरभः ।

Yud—ii (35b), iii (44b), xvii (22a), xx (2b).

Utt—vii (20a), xxvi (13a).

199. ŚARĀRI = Heron.

AK. 88/129. शृणन्त्येनां शरारिः ।

AS. 240. शृणोते बाहुलक आरिः । शरारिः ।

Ara—xv (6b).

200. SALABHA = Grasshopper, moth, locust.

AK. 88/130. शलति शमं लभते वामी शलभः ।

Kis—xliv (1b), xlvii (1b).

Sun—xxxix (11a).

Yud—xvi (43b), xlv (38b).

Utt—vii (3a).

201. SĀLYAKĀ = Scaly fish.

Yud—xxv (18b).

202. ŚAŚA = Hare, rabbit.

AK. 86/126. शशति श्रुत्या गच्छति शशः ।

Sun—xxiv (16ab).

Utt—xxxii (14a).

203. ŚĀKHĀMṚGA = Monkey.

AK. 84/124. शाखा-संचारी मृगः शाखामृगः ।

AS. 216. शाखा-प्रसक्तो मृगः शाखामृगः ।

198 *Av.*, ix. 5. 9; *Tait. Sam.*, iv, 2, 10, 4; *Vāja. Sam.*, xiii, 51; *At. Brā.*, ii, 8, 5; *Sata Brā.*, i, 2, 3, 9.

“मृमेन्द्रविशेषः । अस्य लक्षणं यथा । अष्टपादूर्ध्वनयन ऊर्ध्वपाद चतुष्टयः । सिंहं हन्तुं समायाति शरभो वनगांचरः ॥ इति महाभारतम् ॥”—

(शब्दकल्पद्रुम, ५१५७)

200 *Av.* (Paippalāda Recension), ix. 5. 9.

201 *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv, 35

202 *Rv.*, x. 28. 2; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiii, 56; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 15; *Sat. Brā.*,

xi. 1, 5. 3.

203 *Mbh.*

Ayo—ciii (7a).

Ara—liii (42a).

Kis—i (11a, 21a), xvi (26a), xvii (19b), xix (8b), xxv (1b).

Sun—i (36b), xcvi (14a, 16a).

Yud—ii (15b, 38b, 46b), iv (47b), xii (4a), xxxi (19b), liii (2b), lviii (14b), lxvi (5a), lxxvii (26a).

Utt—xli (23a).

204. ŚĀRDŪLA—Tiger.

‘शार्दूलः शरमे व्याघ्रे श्रेष्ठे तूत्तरतः स्थितः’ इति भूरिः ।

AK. 84/124. शृणाति शार्दूलः ।

Adi—li (17a), lxi (16b), lxxviii (24a), xxxiv (4a, 7a), xxxvi (20b), xlii (13a), xlv (7b), xlv (35a), xlix (3a).

Ayo—xi (16b), xxvii (11b), xxviii (6a, 11b), xlii (2a), lxv (1a), ci (30a), cix (52a), cxi (33a), cxx (18a), cxxii (4b).

Ara—vi (3c), vii (2a), ix (25a), xxviii (20a), l (28b), lxxiii (13b), lxxvii (17a), lxxx (3b).

Kis—xviii (22b), xxvi (2a, 23a), xliii (53a), xlix (4a, 13b).

Sun—i (27b, 65a), ii (47b), iv (5b), v (34b), vii (1a, 9a, 59b), xii (27b), xviii (30a, 50a), xxiii (32b), xxxii (39a), xxxv (33a), lii (8b), lxx (25a), lxxiv (63b).

Yud—xvi (39a), xx (7a), xxix (12a), xxxa (18a), xxxii (33b), xxxvi (112b), xxxix (1a), xlvi (23c, 44b, 98a), l (35b), lii (42b), liii (24b, 30b, 36a), lxii (16b), lxiv (17a, 19a), lxx (22a), lxxxiii (29a, 44b, 121a, 139b, 154a), lxxxviii (2a), cii (16a).

Utt—vii (20b), xx (19a), xxi (29b), xxix (9a), lxxi (13a), lxxvi (2b), lxxx (26b, 28a), xc (17b, 21a), cxi (25a), cxii (11a).

205. ŚĀRDOLI—Tigress.

Ara—xx (22b, 26b).

206. ŚIKHI—Peacock.

Ayo—lvi (12a), lxv (16b).

207. SIVĀ = Jackal.

AK. 85/125. शिनोति शिवा, शकुनावेदिनी वा, शृगालेऽपि क्षीलिताः,
यच्छाश्वतः-शिवः कोलः शिवा क्रोष्टा भवेदामलकी शिवा ।

Ara—xxix (6b, 12b).

Sun—lxxviii (20b).

Yud—xvi (11b), xxxa (29b), xlv (43a), lxxvi (35b),
xci (24b).

Utt—vi (53c), ix (28a).

208. SISU-MĀRA = (a) Gangetic porpoise or dolphine—*Delphinus*
Gangeticus. (b) Alligator.

Sun—xxvii (18a).

Utt—vi (44b), xxxvi (39b), xlv (18a).

209. SŪKA = Parrot. *Acacia Srisa*. *Zizyphus Scandens*.

AK. 129. शुक्रो नीलत्वात् । शवतीत्येके । प्रियदर्शनोऽपि ।

Ayo—liii (24b, 25a).

210. SŪKĪ = Female parrot.

Ara—xx (18a, 21a).

211. SŪKARA (more correctly, *Sū-kara*) = Boar, Hog.

AK. 124. सूयतेत्यर्थं सूकरः ।

AS. 215. शूचः करः शूकरः इति पृषोदरादिन्वाद् धातुप्रदाये तालभ्य
उक्तः ।

Yud—xi (38b), xv (18a).

212. SŪKARĪ.

Sun—xviii (32b).

213. ŚRĠĀLA = Jackal.

AK. 125. अमृगालानि मृगालः, सरति मृजति वा । (See also 207).

Ara—liv (62a).

207 *Gr. Sū.*, *Mbb.*

208 *Rv.*, i, 116, 18; *Tait. Sam.*, v, 5, 11; *Av.*, xi, 2, 25; *Mait. Sam.*, iii,
14, 2; *Vāja. Sam.*, xxiv, 30; *Tait. Āra.*, ii, 19.

209 *Rv.*, i, 50, 12; *Tait. Sam.*, v, 5, 12, 1; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 14; *Vāja.*
Sam., xxiv, 33.

211 *Rv.*, vii, 55, 4; *Av.*, ii, 27, 2; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14, 21; *Vāja. Sam.*,
xxiv, 40; *Chānd. Upa.*, v, 10, 2.

213 *Sat. Brā.*, xii, 5, 2, 5.

Kis—xvi (36b).

Yud—lxxx (68b).

214. SYENA—Hawk, falcon, eagle, any bird of prey.

AK. 86/127. श्यायते श्येनः ।

Ayo—xlvi (5b).

Ara—xx (19b).

Kis—lix (30b).

Yud—xvi (11a), xxvii (34a), lxviii (22a).

Utt—xv (5a).

215. SYENĪ—Female hawk.

Ara—xx (18a, 19b, 33a, 34b).

216. SVĀNA = Dog.

AK. 161/230. शवति श्रयति वा श्वा ।

Ayo—lxxii (24b).

Sun—xxiii (32b).

Utt—vii (21a), lxii (14b), lxiii (1a, 2a, 12a, 27a, 34b, 39a, 47b).

217. SVĀPADA—Wild beast. Tiger.

“हिंस्र पशुः । इति हेमचन्द्रः । व्याघ्रः । इति शब्दरत्नावली ॥”—श, क, ५६२६

Ayo—cvi (27b), cxii (7b).

Ara—xxx (32a).

Sun—xvi (55b).

218. ṢAT-PADA—Six-footed Insect.

AK. 89/130. षट् पदानि चरणा अस्य षट्पदः ।

Sun—xiv (63a).

Yud—xv (8b).

219. SARPA—Snake.

AK. 38/58. सर्पति सर्पः ।

214 Rv. i, 32, 14; Av., iii, 3, 4; Tait. Sam., ii, 4, 7, 1; Sadv. Brā., iii, 8.

216 Rv., i, 182, 4; Av., vi, 37, 3; Pañc. Brā., viii, 8, 22; Śata. Brā., vi, 5, 2, 19 (Suni); xii, 4, 1, 4; Jaim. Brā., i, 51, 4; Tait. Brā., iii, 4, 3, 1; Vāja. Sām., xvi, 27, 5, 28; Tait. Āra., vi, 3, 1; Kāṭh. Sam., xvii, 13; Mait. Sam., ii, 9, 5.

217 Av., viii, 5, 11; xix, 39, 4.

219 Rv., x, 16, 6; Av., x, 4, 23; Tait. Sam., i, 4, 6, 6; Āita. Brā., v, 23, 22; Śata. Brā., xiii, 4, 3, 9; Sāṅk. Śrauta Sū., xvi, 2, 25.

Adi—xli (22a).

Ayo—vi (21a), xxviii (9a), xxxiii (24a), cviii (19b),
cxxxiii (3a).

Ara—xxxv (4b), xxxix (6b), lvii (27a).

Kis—xv (15b), xxxiv (23b), xli (53a, 54b).

Sun—iv (12a, 15a), v (13a), xxiii (22a).

Yud—xv (15a), xvi (30b), xxi (39b), xxvi (9bc), xliii
(15b), li (53a), lxix (1b, 5b), lxx (39b), lxxx (70b),
lxxxiii (3b), lxxxvii (29b, 33b, 36b), xci (13b),
xcii (11b), xciii (3a).

Utt—vii (21b), xxiii (21b), xxviii (39b), lxiii (23a).

220. SARISRPA = Reptile, snake.

AK. 38/58. कुटिलं सर्पति मरीमृषः, नित्यं कौटिल्ये गती (३११२३)
इति यद् । २६३४

Adi—xiii (30c).

Ayo—xxv (32b), xxviii (9a), lviii (6b).

Kis—lx (15a).

Sun—xxxiv (17a), lxxviii (16b).

Utt—xxvi (26c), lxiv (42b).

221. SĀRĀNGA—A kind of spotted antelope. Peacock.

AK. 128. सरति सारङ्गः, सह-आरङ्गानि वा युथकाचारित्वात् ।
“सारङ्गा हरिणाश्चातका वा । (रामायण तिलकम्)”

Ayo—lxv (14b, 16b).

Kis—xxix (22b).

222. SĀRAMEYA—Dog.

AK. 161/230. सरमायाः अपत्यं मारमेयः ।

Utt—xviii (6b), xxv (12a), lxii (16a, 17a, 19a), lxiii (1b,
2b, 13a, 18b, 39b).

223. SĀRASA—Indian Crane. Bird in general.

AK. 88/129. सरसि भवः सारसो लक्ष्मणाढ्यः ।
विलोनाङ्गो दीर्घजङ्घ ।

Adi—xxxvii (8a).

220 Rv., x. 162, 3; Av., iii, 10, 6.

222 Rv., vii, 55, 2; x, 14, 10.

223 Mbb., xiii, 736.

Ayo—xlvii (3b), civ (3a).

Ara—xv (3a), xx (2ob), xxii (16b, 23a), liv (64c), lvi (45a), lxxviii (7a, 15a), lxxxi (43a).

Kis—xiii (8a), xxvi (5a), xxix (5b), xlix (5b), li (11a) lii (38b).

Sun—ix (57a), xvii (36b), xviii (2ob).

Yud—xv (1ob), xxxb (13a).

Utt—xx (2ob), xlv (14b).

224. SĀRIKĀ—A kind of thrush-like bird, *Turdus Salica*.

Ayo—liii (24a).

Sun—xv (35b).

Yud—xi (40a).

Utt—vi (53a).

225. SIMHA—Lion.

AK. 84/124. हिरास्ति सिंहः ।

Adi—iv (19a), vi (23b), xii (21b), xv (5b), xx (10a), xxvii (13b), lxxix (1ob).

Ayo—iv (25b), vii (30a), xxv (33a), xxvii (11b), xxviii (1ob, 11b), xxix (4a), lii (27b), lviii (6b), lix (24a), lx (18a), lxi (25b), lxii (25ab), lxxv (31b), xcvi (3a), ci (23a), civ (19b), cviii (21b, 25a), cxxv (23b).

Ara—vi (3c), vii (3b, 7a), xxiii (1ob, 13a), xxv (13b), xxxiii (29b), xxxiv (12ab), xlii (24b), xliii (16b, 18a), lii (4b), liii (42a), liv (46ab, 55b, 62a), lvi (4b), lviii (8a), lix (41a), lx (11a), lxiii (4a), lxxvi (6a).

Kis—ii (7a, 12b), iii (5a), xiii (29a), xv (6a), xxi (38b), xxii (3ob), xxvi (2a, 12b), xxxi (28b), xxxvii (23a, 24a), xliii (13a, 14a, 15b, 37a), xlix (4a), liv (6a), lx (15a).

Sun—i (1b), iii (4a), iv (5b, 8b), v (29a), vii (59a), ix (21a), xi (6a), xii (21a, 27b), xxiii (31ab), xxiv (23b), xxvi (14a), xxviii (1b, 9b), xxxi (62b), xxxiv

224 *Mbb*.

225 *Rv.*, i, 64, 8; *Av.*, iv, 36, 6; *Tait. Saṃ.*, v, 5, 21, 1; *Kāth. Saṃ.*, xii, 10; *Mait. Saṃ.*, ii, 1, 9; *Kauṣ. Upa.*, 1, 2.

(6b), xxxvi (62a), xxxvii (19b), xxxix (8b), xlv (17a), lv (14b), lxix (39a), lxx (25a).

Yud—ii (28b, 31a, 37b), iii (39a), vi (24a), vii (34b), xv (18a), xx (27a), xxvii (28a), xxix (12a), xxxa (18a), xxxb (23b), xxxi (10b), xxxii (13a, 33b, 40a), xxxv (2b, 16d), xxxvii (2a, 41a), xliii (15a), xlix (26b, 34b, 46b, 151c), li (6a), liv (39a, 46b), lix (7b, 20b), lxx (38a), lxxiii (38b), lxxiv (1b, 7b), lxxx (10a, 68a), lxxxiii (53a, 143a), lxxxiv (4b, 19b, 25a), lxxxv (1b), lxxxvi (11b), lxxxviii (2a), xciv (5b, 19b).

Utt—vii (20a, 41b, 45b, 50a), xx (15a, 19a), xxi (66a), xxiii (14a, 45b), xxviii (48b), xxix (45b), xxxi (5a, 9a, 13a), xxxii (10b), lxiv (2a), lxxv (31b), lxxxv (18b), xcix (17a), cvii (25a), cxiv (22b).

226. SIMHĪ = Lioness.

Ara—liv (46b).

227. SUPARNA = Any large bird of prey—vulture, eagle etc.

AK. 7/11 सुपर्णो हेमपक्ष्मत्वात् ।

रा-टी २-२५, २—“सुपर्णा विहङ्गमाः ।”

Adi—iii (108b), xliii (16b, 23a, 24b).

Ayo—xxv (25a, 27b), cxvii (9a).

Ara—viii (3a), xxxiii (19b), xxxvi (33a), xl (14a, 27b, 36a), xlv (20b), xlv (18b), lxiii (6b).

Kis—i (15a), xv (25a), xviii (23b).

Sun—iii (62a), v (34b), xxii (29b).

Yud—xvi (35b), xxvi (17a, 19a, 25b, 36a, 40a), xlv (140a), xlix (74a).

Utt—vi (60a, 62a), x (19a), xvi (10a), xxiii (40b), civ (8a), cxv (13b).

228. SURABHI = Cow.

AK. 26/302 सुष्टु रभते सुरभिः ।

226 *Tait. Sam.*, i, 2, 12, 2; *Vāja. Sam.*, v, 10; *Sata. Brā.*, iii, 5, 1, 21; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 8, 5.

228 *Rv.*, i, 164, 20; *Av.*, i 24, 1; *Tait. Sam.*, vii, 5, 8, 5; *Mait. Sam.*, iv, 9, 19; *Tait. Ara.*, iv, 29; *Jaim. Brā.*, ii, 4, 38.

Ayo—lxxvi (17a, 22a), c (55a).

Ara—xx (23a, 28a).

Utt—xxvii (20b).

229. SRMARA = A kind of animal frequenting damp places
(accord. to some the 'Bos Grunniens' or 'a young deer').

AK. 86/126 सरति सुमरः ।

Ara—xx (24b).

Utt—vi (45b), xx (19a).

230. STOKAKA = Cātaka bird.

AK. 87/128 स्तोकं कायति वाशते याचते वा स्तोककः ।

Ara—xxxv (28b).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

MISCELLANY

Is the *Devī-bhāgavata* the Source of the Deogarh Relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa ?

In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, 1951, pp. 191-196 Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has tried to show that the scenes of the penance of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the eastern niche of the Gupta temple of Deogarh in the Jhansi district of U.P. are based on the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa as contained in the *Devī-bhāgavata* (Benares edition) iv. 5-10 (especially chap. 6)¹. As the relief is of considerable antiquity, being dated 'about 600 A.D.' by A. K. Coomaraswamy² and in 'the second half of the 5th century A.D.' by Smith³ and Codrington⁴, I think it necessary to compare the story of the *Devī-bhāgavata* with the said relief a little more carefully to see whether this story can be taken to be the basis of the relief and whether the date of composition of the *Devī-bhāgavata* can thus be pushed up to a period 'not later than the 6th century A.D.'⁵ It should be remembered that an unduly early date for the *Devī bhāgavata* means not only the same for the state of religion and society reflected in it but also a better claim of this work to the status of a genuine Mahāpurāṇa than that of the Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*, which some scholars are inclined to date not earlier than the 8th century A.D.⁶

1 As a matter of fact, the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's creation of Urvaśī is narrated in *Devī-bhāgavata* iv. 5-6, 7 (verses 1-16), and 17, the intervening verses and chapters being given to other matters (such as the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's fight with Prahlāda) which were introduced by way of exemplifying the bad effects of Ahaṃkāra (pride).

2 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 80.

3 Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1930, p. 12.

4 K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Guptas with Notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediaeval Period*, 1926, p. 61.

5 *IHQ.*, XXVII, p. 196.

6 See C. V. Vaidya in *JBBRAS*, 1925, pp. 144 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 49; F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80; J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 229 ff.; M. Winternitz, *History of Indian*

In order to explain some of the figures in the said relief Mr. Ramachandran has given in his article a short summary of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the *Devī-bhāgavata*, but as his summary suffers from omission of facts and unwarranted stretch of imagination, I briefly narrate the story below with all its notable points. This story, as given in *Devī-bhāgavata* iv. 5-7 and 17, is as follows:

Brahmā's son Dharma was born from his father's heart. Dharma married Dakṣa's daughters and had four sons named Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the first two took to Yoga practices and the last two, who are said to be parts of Viṣṇu, went to Vadarikāśrama in the Pāṭalīyādri (Himalayas) and practised severe austerities there on the bank of the Gaṅgā for full one thousand years. The thousand-eyed Śakra got frightened at their activities. He came down to the Gandhamādana mountain by riding his elephant and tried to allure the two sages by offering to grant the best boon to them. As the latter could not be moved from their meditation, Śakra took to his magic power (mohinī māyā) and created wolves, lions and tigers and then rain, wind and fire for terrifying them. Finding that none of his attempts proved effective to the sages who were meditating on Ādi-Śakti Mahāvidyā as well as on the Vāg-bīja, Kāma-bīja and Māyā-bīja, Śakra (also called Indra) returned to heaven and sent Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring) and the Apsarases such as Rambhā and Tilottamā to divert the sages (—Chap. 5). Vasanta first made his appearance in the mountain, with the result that Āmra, Vakula, Tilaka, Kimpśuka, Madhuka and other trees and creepers were in full bloom, cuckoos gave out their sweet notes from tree-tops, the gentle southern breeze began to blow, and all creatures were smitten with passionate love for their beloved. Next, Kāma, with Rati and his five arrows fully prepared, took his abode in Vadarikāśrama, and Rambhā, Tilottamā and other Apsarases began to sing sweet songs. The sudden appearance of the spring in all its splendour did not fail to attract the notice of the sages, but the

Literature, Vol. I, p. 556; Durgashankar Shastri in *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, II, pp. 129-139; J. N. Banerji in *IHQ.*, XXVI, pp. 138-143.

Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf date the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in the 13th century A.D.

latter, though astonished, could easily discover the machination of Indra behind all these unexpected happenings. As soon as the sages looked at the well-dressed nymphs, who were 8050 in number,⁷ the latter bowed down to them, stood in their front, and sang love exciting songs. The sages, however, were not moved. Nārāyaṇa calmly received the nymphs as guests. In order to show the power of his penance he struck his thigh with his palm and created a perfectly beautiful female who was called Urvaśī due to her birth from Nārāyaṇa's thigh (uru) and was looked upon with wonder by the nymphs sent by Śakra. Next, for service of these nymphs Nārāyaṇa brought into being the same number of extremely beautiful females, who put the celestial nymphs to confusion. Being struck with wonder to see the power of penance the celestial nymphs eulogised the sages, admitting their own folly and giving out that they had come there not to serve them but to accomplish the work of Śarabratu. The sages were pleased at their eulogy. They asked the nymphs to return to heaven, taking Urvaśī as a present from them to Maṅghavat (Indra). But the nymphs refused to go to heaven and wanted to have Nārāyaṇa as their husband. They earnestly requested Nārāyaṇa to send Urvaśī and the other females created by him to heaven and to allow 1650 of them to remain there to serve him and his brother. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to spoil his fame and austerities by giving indulgence to sexual passion (—Chap.6). He refused to have them as wives and intended to ward them off by taking to anger. Being, however, prevented by Nara from doing so (—Chap. 7), Nārāyaṇa attained tranquillity of mind, explained the impossibility of what they wanted from him, and assured them that he would become their husband in the 28th Dvāpara when he would be born again for the accomplishment of the work of gods and the nymphs would be born as daughters of different kings. Feeling relieved at the words of Nārāyaṇa the nymphs returned to heaven and informed Indra of the whole situation. Indra was highly pleased with the sage and praised him at the sight of Urvaśī (—Chap. 17)

In the summary of the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa given above, the following points are to be specially noted:—

(i) In his second attempt to divert the sages by terrorising them Śakra is said to have created wolves, lions and tigers by means

of his magic power,* there being no mention of deer anywhere in the whole story.

(ii) There is nothing in the *Devī-bhāgavata* which may indicate that the wild beasts created by Śakra were 'subdued' by the sages.

(iii) Cuckoos are said to have given out sweet notes from tree-tops with the appearance of Vasanta in the Gandhamādana mountain.

(iv) Kāma is said to have taken his position in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows, there being no mention of Kāma's bow.

(v) Nymphs, and no Gandharvas, are said to have been sent with Kāma to divert the sages.

(vi) Nārāyaṇa is said to have created not only Urvaśī but also a large number of beautiful females for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Śakra.

(vii) The nymphs from heaven, and not Urvaśī, are said to have eulogised the sages, and there is nothing in the whole story to indicate that Urvaśī bowed down or in any way paid respect to the sages before leaving for heaven.

(viii) There is no mention of the presence either of any sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) or of Brahmā and other gods and goddesses in the hermitage.

The said Deogarh relief, on the other hand, has the following peculiarities:

(i-ii) It contains the figure of a single lion crouching indifferently* with its front legs crossed in a pose of non-violence and also those of three deer lying at ease with an air of complete safety and tameness very near to the lion, to which they form a very favourite food. The presence of these two kinds of animals very near to each other without the least expression of violence in the one or fear in the others, clearly gives out the spirit of Ahimsā (non-violence) prevailing all around

8 The relevant verses of the *Devī-bhāgavata* are the following:

*tato vai mohinīm māyām cakāra bhayadam vṛṣabḥ ||
vṛkāt śiṃhānś ca vyāghrānś ca samutpādyābhiṣayat |
varṣam vṛtaṃ tathā vabunīm samutpādyā punaḥ punaḥ ||
bhīṣayāmsa tau śakro māyām kṛtvā vimohinim |*

Devī-bhāgavata, iv. 5. 25b-27a.

9 It is to be noted that the face of the lion is turned away from the deer and his eyes are closed.

the two sages. It cannot be taken to indicate the submission of ferocious beasts sent by Śakra, because in that case the presence of a single ferocious beast (viz., lion) and three timid and innocent animals (viz., deer) lying unconcerned near it, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

(iii) There is no figure of any bird in the relief.

(iv) The male and female figures hovering to the right of Nārāyaṇa (the four-handed sage) must be those of Kāma and Rati. But Kāma has in his hand the stringless rod of the flowery bow (which indicates his absolute powerlessness), whereas according to the *Devī-bhāgavata* Kāma appeared in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows.

(v) Of the two human figures hovering to the left of Nara (the two-handed sage) the male one is rather obscure and may be that of Vasanta. It is more probable that this male figure is that of a Gandharva carrying some musical instrument (Vasanta being represented in the relief by vernal beauty noticeable in the trees); and the female one, reclining beside him and showing signs of utter helplessness and disappointment, must be that of a celestial nymph who not only failed to tempt the sages but was discomfited by Urvaśī's matchless beauty. These two seem to have been meant for representing the multitude of Gandharvas and Apsarases who came from heaven to divert the sages.

(vi) The female figure hovering between the two sages must be that of Urvaśī, but beside her there are no figures of any other females who might represent those created by Nārāyaṇa for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Indra.

(vii) It is Urvaśī (and not the celestial nymphs, as said in the *Devī-bhāgavata* story) who pays respect to Nārāyaṇa with folded palms.

(viii) The two human figures standing behind Nara and Nārāyaṇa are undoubtedly those of two sages meant for representing the large number of sages who used to come to Vadarikāśrama to visit Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

From the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the *Devī-bhāgavata* on the one hand and the Deogarh relief on the other, it will be evident that the story has more points of difference from the relief than those of agreement with it. So, it can never be taken to be the source of the relief. As a matter of fact, this story

comes from a very late period and is a definitely later version, with certain striking innovations and mention of Ādi-śakti and Tantric Bījas, than that found in *Vāmana-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition), Chaps. 6-7, with which the *Devī-bhāgavata* has a good number of verses in common. As the present *Vāmana-purāṇa* cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D., the *Devī-bhāgavata* must have been written later than at least 750 A.D. (For further evidences in support of the late origin of the *Devī-bhāgavata* see my article in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, xxi, 1953, pp. 48-79).

It is difficult to say at present what exactly formed the basis of the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa. The story of the *Vāmana-purāṇa*, to which we have already referred, does not mention any wild animals or sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) being present in the hermitage, nor does it say that Kandarpa (Cupid) was accompanied by Rati or that Rambhā, whom Śatakratu sent with Kandarpa and Mādhava (Spring) to disturb Nara and Nārāyaṇa, had with her any other Apsaras or Gandharva. There is also no mention of Urvaśī's paying respect to her creator before leaving for heaven.

A story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is also found in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, Revākhanda, chaps. 192-193 (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition). Although this story mentions 'lions, tigers and other wild beasts as leaving off their ferocity and moving about in the mountain with deer',¹⁰ it contains a number of other peculiarities which go definitely against its being the source of the relief.

Accounts of the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa as occurring in the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and some other works, do not meet all the points in the relief. So, it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purāṇic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the *Mahābhārata*.

R. C. HAZRA

10 *śimha-vyāghrādayaḥ saumyāś ceruḥ saha mṛgair girau/*

The Aṣṭamātrkās of Mārṇār

The problem of the *Saptamātrkās* has already been discussed by T. G. Rao¹ and Dr. D. R. Patil.² In ancient Rajasthan, worship both of seven³ and eight⁴ mothers was in vogue in the mediaeval period. At Osian are carved three of the *Saptamātrkās* (*ASLAR.*, 1908-9, p. 110).

As regards the cult of the *Aṣṭamātrkās*, we find the eight mothers carved at Elephanta near Bombay (cf. T. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 381) but all are *Caturbhūja* and seated with babies in their laps. The carving of Gaṇapati and eight *stbānika* mothers to his left in a single rock in front of the Maṇḍora Railway station (5 miles from Jodhpur) presents very interesting features of the Gurjara Pratihāra period. They are carved in a rectangular space 9½ feet broad and 1½ ft high. Except the Gaṇapati, all the female deities seem to be standing. In ancient times there was some raised dais or platform (in front of the images) called by the local people as "Rāvaṇa kī Chanvarī". It is simply a myth that the king of Maṇḍora (ancient Maṇḍavyapura) had given his daughter Mandodarī in marriage to Rāvaṇa—the celebrated ruler of Ceylon. Just below these images is a step-well wherein a slab bears an inscription dated 742 *Vikrama Samvat*. It is very likely that the *Aṣṭamātrkās* were carved at the time of the opening ceremony of this step-well near by. The above inscription specifically refers to the construction of the step well in 742 V. S.

Every standing *mātrkā* at Maṇḍora covers a space about 1½ feet high. It is really painful that almost all the heads of the deities are now broken and deshaped. Only some hands and objects held in them, some *vāhanas* of deities, ornaments of neck, shoulder, ankle and waist etc., are still visible to speak of the richness of local art of so early an age.

1 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 3-9 ff.

2 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, pp. 109 ff.

3 Cf. *ASLAR.*, 1909-10, p. 134; *PRAWC.*, 1905, pp. 46 and 48, *ibid.*, 1919, p. 65 etc.

4 *PRAWC.*, 1905, p. 62 at Nāgala, p. 59 at Chittorgarh, p. 49 at Rāmgarh; 1911, p. 36 at Kekinda in Mārṇār.

5 The capital of the Gurjar Pratihāras.

The blending of the standing⁶ pose and the arrangement of the hands⁷ is not to be seen anywhere else in the whole of Indian art. Beginning from Gaṇapati, to his left, the female deities have two and four hands alternately i.e. the first has two, the second has four, the third has two again and so forth till the last (i.e. *Cāmuṇḍā*) has eight hands.

A brief description of the Maṇḍora sculptures too is very interesting⁸. The elephant god Gaṇapati is seated with sweets in his lower left hand. To his left we find the deities in the following order:—

- 1 Two handed mother holding some object in her left arm which is stretched downwards.
- 2 Four handed Vaiṣṇavī holding a conch in her lower left hand.
- 3 Two handed Māh-eśī is standing in front of the bull (the Nandī of Śiva). Perhaps her left hands used to touch the head of the bull.
- 4 *Brahmāṇī*, with her four hands, is standing with a swan (the *vāhana* of Brahmanā) near her left leg. Her legs are somewhat bent.
- 5 Some deity having two hands.
- 6 Four handed deity.
- 7 *Aindrī*, with an elephant (the *vāhana* of Indra) behind her, has two hands.
- 8 *Cāmuṇḍā*, having eight hands, is seen trampling on a human body kneeling below.

Of these mothers, it is not possible to clearly identify Nos. 1, 5, and 6 for their attributes are all wanting. Dr. Bhandarkar (*ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 93) conjectures that probably they were the remaining three mothers i.e., Kaumārī, Vārāhī and Nārasiṃhī.

6 On a stone slab (2' 11" X 2' 5") now kept in the Mathurā Museum are carved only three *mātrkāś* i.e. Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī. All these *Catur-bhuja* mothers are standing. Also we have a similar sculpture (depicting Aindri and Vārāhī) kept in a shrine to the left of Sachiyā-mātā's temple at Osian, 39 miles from Jodhpur)

7 Cf. *PRAWC.*, 1907, p. 33.

8 Cf. *ASIAR.*, 1909-10, p. 93, plate XL facing p. 94.

The *Aṣṭamātrkāś* of Maṇḍora thus have to play an important role on the realm of Indian art depicting the seven or eight divine mothers. The altogether absence of children in the laps of mothers is a noteworthy feature which should not escape the eyes of a student of Indian art. On the other hand several mediaeval sculptures depicting a child in the lap of the mother have been recovered from Maṇḍora. It is really a mystery how the sculptor of Maṇḍora could afford to miss the depiction of the babies in the laps of all the eight divine mothers discussed above.

As regards Kekinda,⁹ the *sthānaka* and *Caturbbuja* eight mothers are carved on the shrine door of the 10th century A. D. Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple. Here the deities are shown with babies in their laps and their *vāhanas* too standing near by. We also find the eight mothers on the shrine door of the Brahmanī temple of Phalodi (near Merta Road i.e., 65 miles from Jodhpur).

This is in nutshell a short account of *Aṣṭamātrkā*-worship in Ancient Mārwar.*

R. C. AGRAWALA

An Inscription from the Patna District

It is often believed that to read an epigraphic or manuscript record in early Bengali characters is much easier than to decipher an inscription of the ancient and early medieval periods. But my experience as a student of Indian palaeography is that the decipherment of a late medieval Bengali manuscript or epigraphic record requires as much skill, care and patience as that of an epigraph or manuscript of an earlier date.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XXVIII, 1942, pp. 440-41, Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri published an interesting note entitled "Evolution of Māgadhī Script." The title of the article may lead our readers to expect that the learned author

9 Modern Jasnaḡar or ancient Kiṣkindhā, about 14 miles from Merta City (Merta City being 73 miles from Jodhpur).

* Paper submitted to be read in Section I of the Indian History Congress held at Waltair in December, 1953.

has offered in it a dissertation of the type of Bühler's celebrated essay on the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet. But there is hardly anything in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's note, covering only two pages of the journal, besides mere references to the following: (1) Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, Tafel VI, (2) *JBORS.*, vol. XXIII, Part I, March, 1937, p. 10, (3) a manuscript (copied in 1464 A.D.) of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, which was acquired by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1938, and (4) a stone inscription acquired by the Patna Museum from Bihar-sharif in 1943. There is no description of any script in the article; but the learned author has offered us a short note on the Bihar-sharif inscription referred to above, together with its facsimile. Thus he has earned the gratitude of the students of Indian epigraphy and palaeography.

The most valuable part of Dr. Banerji-Sastri's note contains the following details regarding the find of the inscription in question: "In January 1943 was acquired the inscribed piece of stone reproduced in this number. Its exact findspot is not known. The Curator, Patna Museum, informs me that this stone slab was lying for some time at the residence of the Sub-Divisional Officer, Bihar Shariff. He presented it to the Patna Museum. The stone is black schist generally found in Bihar. The slab is 4'-9" × 1'½" × 5". There are four lines of inscription on one side only, the inscribed space measuring 2'-4¾" × ¾ × 8"(sic.). It bears Patna Museum Archaeological No. 10601. These details have been supplied by the Curator, Patna Museum, and the inscription is reproduced here by the kind permission of P. C. Manuk, Esq., President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum".

We consider the above information very valuable because the inscription is written in the early Bengali script and its discovery in Bihar is of special significance. In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113 ff., I edited a stone inscription from the Patna District bearing the date V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.). This epigraph is also written in the early Bengali alphabet and I had to discuss the problem of its prevalence during the medieval period in the Patna area of Bihar where the Devanāgarī script and its variety the Kāyethī are now in general use.

As regards the contents and value of the Bihar-sharif inscription, Dr. Banerji-Sastri remarks as follows: "The inscription is of the

usual votive donation type. The last line runs—*Likhitaṃ sūtrakāreṇa Kāmadevena karmīṇā Śāke 1322 Nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṃ 1458*. English translation:—Inscribed by the carver Kāmadeva in the Śaka era (year?) 1322 and in the era of the sunlike king Vikrama, Saṃ 1458. Śaka 1322 = 1322 + 78 = 1400 A.D.: Saṃ 1458 - 58 = 1400 A.D. Thus the inscription is written in the Māgadhi script dated 1400 A.D.”

It will be seen that out of the four lines of writing on the inscription, Dr. Banerji-Sastri read only the last line. Recently I had to examine the inscription carefully in order to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It was found on examination that there are several unfortunate errors in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's views on the record as quoted above.

In the first place, the inscription is not “of the usual votive donation type.” It records the construction of a *kīrtti* (i.e. a structure or temple) to house the deity Kauśika-nāga by a number of persons. The worship of Kauśika-nāga at Bihar-sharif or in its neighbourhood is of considerable interest to the student of India's cultural history in view of the fact that the *Mahābhārata* mentions the same deity in relation to Rājagṛha, modern Rajgir which is not far away from Bihar-sharif. The description of Rājagṛha in the *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā-parvan, chapter 21, contains the following verses (9-10) speaking of the Nāgas worshipped at the old capital of Magadha:

*Arbudaḥ Śakravāpī ca pannagau śatru-tīpanan,
Svastikasya = ālayaś = c = ātra Maṇi-nāgasya c = ottamaḥ;
aparibhāryā meghānām Māgadha Manuṇā kṛtāḥ,
Kauśikō Maṇimāns' = c = aiva cakrāte c = āpya = anugraham.*

The verses speak of the Nāga deities of Rājagṛha as Arbuda, Śakravāpin, Svastika, Maṇi-nāga, Kauśika and Maṇimat, of whom Svastika and Maṇi-nāga had their own temples in the city. Numerous old Nāga images have been discovered in the ruins of Rajgir while the local Maṇiyār Maṭh has been taken to represent an ancient Maṇināga-maṭha. The Rajgir area, in which Bihar-sharif is situated, was one of the greatest centres of the Nāga cult in Eastern India.

Secondly, in what has been read as *sūtrakāreṇa Kāmadevena Karmīṇā* and translated as “by the carver Kāmadeva”, *sūtrakāreṇa* has been wrongly deciphered. The word *sūtrakāra* of course means a

weaver or carpenter; but the reading of the expression as found in the record is clearly and undoubtedly *svaṛṇṇakāreṇa*. Kāmadeva was therefore a goldsmith and not a carver.

Thirdly, what has been read as *Śāke 1322* is clearly *Śāke 1317*. The same date seems to have been given in words at the beginning of line 1. Unfortunately, the letters giving the year are peeled off, although the following words giving the actual date are clear. This part reads: *c = Āśvine māsi śukle vāre Śukre daśamyām*. The date of the consecration of the *kīrti* or temple for the god Kauśika-nāga was thus Śaka 1317, Āśvina śudi 10, Friday. The date corresponds to the 24th September, 1395 A. D. Dr Banerji-Sastri's date is thus five years later than the actual date of the record.

Fourthly, what has been read by Dr. Banerji-Sastri as *Nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṁ 1458* is undoubtedly *Nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṁ 1452*. The type of 2 occurring here is used several times in the Mehar plate of Dāmodara, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVII, pp. 182ff. There cannot moreover be any doubt about the reading of the date as it is also given in words at the beginning of line 3 of the inscription. The passage in question (not studied by Dr. Banerji-Sastri) reads: *yugm-eśāsya-kṛt-aik-ābde kānte nṛpaguros = tithau*. In this, *yugma* = 2, *īśāsya* (literally, the faces of Īśa or Śiva) = 5, *kṛta* = 4, and *eka* = 1. According to the principle *aṅkānām vāmato gatiḥ*, the words would make 1452 (of the Vikrama era). The actual date is called the *tithi* of the *nṛpa-guru*. The expression *nṛpa-garu* here apparently means "the foremost of rulers" as in the *Raghuvamśa*, II, 68:

*tasyāḥ prasann-endu-mukhaḥ prasādaṁ
gurur = nṛpāṇām gurave nivedya,
prabharṣa-cibh-ānumitaṁ priyāyai
śaśaṁsa vācā punaruktay = eva.*

Here Dilīpa is called *nṛpāṇām gurur* = *nṛpa-guru*, 'the foremost of kings'. The use of the expression can also be traced in epigraphical literature. Cf *rājāṇām gurur śrī-Vijayākhyā-devo*, etc., in verse 5 of the Rewah inscription of Malayasiṁha (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 265ff.). Thus the *nṛpaguru-tithi* of the inscription under study means a royal *tithi*. We have seen that what is apparently the same *tithi* is quoted in line 1 of the record as Āśvina-śudi 10, which is the *Vijayā daśamī* day. That the *Vijayā daśamī* was regarded as a royal *tithi* will be clear from

the citations under the word *durgā* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*: *tad-dine rājā yātrāṇi kuryāt yathā—daśamīm yaḥ samullāṅghya prasthānaṁ kuru-te nṛpaḥ, tasya saṁvatsaraṁ rāje na kv = āpi vijayo bhavet; svayam-aśaktaḥ khaḍg-ādi yātrā kartavyā yathā—kāryavaśāt svayam-āgame bhūbbhartuḥ kecid = ābur ācāryāḥ, chatr-ayudh-ādyaṁ = iṣṭaṁ vajjayikaṁ nirgame kuryāt*. The date in question is therefore the same as quoted in line 1 of the inscription, namely, Friday, the 24th September 1395 A. D.

Fifthly, what Dr. Banerji-Sastri calls "the Māgadhī script, dated 1400 A. D." is the early Bengali alphabet of 1395 A. D. The letters of the inscription very closely resemble those of the modern Bengali alphabet. As we have pointed out elsewhere (*IIIQ.*, vol. XXVIII, 1952, pp. 123 ff.), the early medieval script of Eastern India, from which the modern alphabets of Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Mithilā (North Bihar) were developed, was known as Gaudī. The letters of the inscription under review has more marked resemblance with those of the present day Bengali alphabet and especially of the late medieval epigraphic and manuscript records of the Bengal area than even with those of the modern Maithil alphabet, although the difference between the medieval alphabets of Bengal and Mithilā was very little. Whether the absence of Maithil influence on the record is suggested by the date given in the Śaka era but not according to the Lakṣmaṇasena Sāmvat is difficult to settle, but it may do. In any case, however, Dr. Banerji-Sastri's description of the alphabet of the Bihar-sharif inscription under study as "the Māgadhī script, dated 1400 A. D." is apparently unfortunate and utterly unwarranted. It may also be pointed out that the description of what has been published by Dr. Banerji-Sastri as "the autograph of Vibhūticandra (1203 A.D.)" as Māgadhī is equally unjustified. As in a few other medieval manuscripts found in Nepal, this one uses a type of medial *i* which was widely used only in Orissa.

D. C. SIRCAR

REVIEWS

EARLY GEOGRAPHY OF ASSAM by Dr. B. K. Barua, Reader, Gauhati University, 1952, 72 pp.

The author states at the outset that his sources for this brochure are mainly two works the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Yoginī Tantra*, both of which being primarily devoted to religion take note of only those places which acquired importance as a sacred site for pilgrimage. The copper plate grants are not of much use as these mention only the villages which were the objects of a gift and so are the itineraries of religious preachers like Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva. With these scanty materials at his disposal, the author has collected a mass of information relating to "Prāgjyotiṣa" and "Kāmarūpa". He has then compiled an alphabetical list of topographical names and given with each whatever information, whether legendary or historical, is available as to their location and importance. There are two appendices dealing with geographical names of India and not included in the list of names falling within Assam. One is a collection from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the other from the *Yoginī Tantra*. Both of these lists are interesting and serve as useful materials for future researches in ancient Indian geography. This treatise on the early geography of Assam has no doubt entailed much labour and patience, and the author deserves compliment for the same. We commend this book to all historians, who can have some useful geographical information within easy reach.

N. DUTT

HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF THE AJIVIKAS by Dr. A. L. Basham B.A., Ph. D. Luzac & Co., London. xxxii + 304 pp.

We welcome this book on the Ajivikas as our knowledge about this religious order, which appeared as a rival to the early Jainas, is very meagre, particularly because of the fact that no original text expounding their views is available. Dr. Basham as well the previous writers on this subject like Dr. Hoernle and Dr. Barua had to depend mostly on the traditions preserved in the literature of its rivals. Such traditions can hardly be expected to present the history and doctrines of a rival religious teacher in their proper perspective. However, to

make the best use of these materials, all the scholars mentioned above have tried to reconstruct the history and doctrines in as impartial a manner as possible but the results have not been very happy as imagination and speculation have played a large part in such reconstructions. For this Dr. Basham has found fault with Dr. Barua and Dr. Hoernle, forgetting that he was also riding on the same horse. His account of the initiation, song and dance and philosophical views of the Ajivikas, suffers from the same defect as those of the previous writers. We appreciate the labours of Dr. Basham for bringing together all the materials traceable in the Indian literature and inscriptions including the Tamil sources and presenting them in a neat and clear language. His detailed study of the Pali passages dealing with the six heretical teachers, and of the Jaina traditions preserved in the *Bhagavatīsūtra* and other texts deserves commendation. He has tried to link up the teaching of Pūraṇa Kassapa, Pakudha Kaccayana with those of Mañkhali Gosāla by straining the meaning of the doctrines attributed to them. He identifies Pūraṇa the Ajivika of Kukkuṭanagara mentioned in the *Nīlakeśī* with Pūraṇa Kassapa of the Pali traditions. The title Pūraṇa, possibly a form of Sanskritisation of "Purṇa" (perfect), might have been common among the Indian ascetics, hence, such identification should not be made without other corroborating evidences. Though the first eight chapters of the work do not contain new information of any importance, we appreciate his attempt to present a connected account of the sect from its origin up to the Nanda and Maurya periods. His main contribution and by far the best is contained in chapters IX and X. In chapter IX he traces the career of the Ajivikas in later times from the early and late Sanskrit literature up to the 13th century A. D., while in chapter X he has collected all the epigraphic evidences relating to the existence of the Ajivikas in Southern India as also the references to this sect found in the Tamil religious texts: *Maṇimekalai*, *Nīlakeśī* and *Civañānacittiyar*. Though these evidences throw no light on the teachings of the Ajivikas, they establish that this religious order was fairly well known in Southern India up to the 14th century A. D. He has taken great pains to establish that the Ajivikas had a set of scriptures but the evidences produced are very scanty and not so convincing. In chapter XII, he has entered into detailed discussion about the main thesis of the Ajivikas, viz. *niyati*. We must say that he has tried his best to give a plausible

interpretation of the same. He has essayed a very difficult task of trying to give us some idea of the Ajivika cosmology, atomism, soul, and gods from the scanty available materials. The young scholar seems to have gone beyond his limits in his occasional remarks such as (p.4) "the industrious and uninspiring civilization of the Indās cities with its chthonic religion, had been replaced by the more barbaric culture of the Aryans, with disorderly pantheon of celestial dieties"; (p.95) "even before Gosāla's ministry, the regions of Kosala, Magadha, Kasi, Videha and Campa were the homes of peripatetic naked philosophers of the Ajivika type". Such remarks only reveal the writer's very poor knowledge of ancient Indian civilization.

In spite of the shortcomings pointed out above, it must be admitted that the author has been able to create the impression that the Ajivikas formed an organised religious order to be counted with along with the Jainas and the Buddhists and that it was not really an immoral, short-lived religious order as the rival sects wanted to make out, and that it possessed a literature and language of its own. The doctrine of "niyati" was accepted in India in some form or other by Brahmanical sects while it formed the main basis of Maṅkhalī Gosāla's doctrine, which of course was carried to its furthest limit by this founder. A book like this therefore serves the useful purpose of establishing the importance and popularity of a hitherto not so well known religious sect of India.

N. DUTT

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF ASSAM (EARLY PERIOD)

by Dr. B. K. Barua, Reader, Gauhati University, 1951, 223 pp. with 35 plates.

With the rapid strides that our historians are making in reconstructing the past of our ancient country, it is in the fitness of things that the scholars of every province should keep pace with the same by making a close and detailed study of the materials available within his province and present the same within a small compass to draw the attention of those scholars who essay to write a history of all the peoples of India. Dr. B. K. Barua has therefore produced a very useful work and we must say that he has done it ably. In this treatise he has given a cultural, and not merely a political, history of

Assam and this really offers a great relief to the monotonous reading of the rise and fall of kings and dynasties.

In the first chapter, he has made an ethnological study of the various tribal inhabitants of Assam and concludes that the Tibeto-Burman and Shans constitute today the bulk of the population (p.7). He has also discussed about the time of the advent of the Aryans and the growth of modern Assamese out of Sanskrit and commented incidentally on the origin of the appellations "Prāgjyotiṣa" and "Kāmarūpa". In the second chapter he has reviewed the political history, utilising the well known traditions and inscriptions as far as possible while the third is devoted to administration during nine centuries from the 4th to the 12th century A. D., for which the author depended largely on the land grant copper plates. The fourth chapter on economic condition is replete with many interesting information and gives a clear picture of the various means of livelihood of the people, the system of survey of land and revenue, the various agricultural products as also the trade-routes. In the fifth chapter he has analysed the social structure including the origin and position of various castes, marriage customs and educational systems. While in the sixth he gives a succinct account of the many religions prevalent in Assam from the earliest times. In the seventh chapter he surveys the architectural remains, sculptures and the various images found in the province. There are two appendices written by Dr. B. Kakati on "place and personal names in the early land grants of Assam" and on "certain Austro-Sanskrit word-correspondences."

From the above bird's-eye view of the contents of the work, it will be apparent that the author has essayed a formidable task and collected various materials and presented the same in a nice readable form. The value of the work has been much enhanced by his utilisation of archaeological finds. We trust the book will earn appreciation not only of the Assamese scholars but also of all students of Indian culture.

N. DUTT

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Ancient India, Number 7

- K. A. CHOWDHURY AND S. S. GHOSH.—*Plant-remains from Harappa 1946*. A study of the plant-remains collected during the excavations at Harappa in 1946 has resulted in their identification by the wood technologists of the forest Research Institute. Of the four varieties of the timber remains, two are considered to have been of local origin and two appear to have come from the hills. The botanical evidence shows that four thousand years ago, there was, near about Harappa, 'a scrubby forest with pockets of marshy land and tall grasses, where rainfall was limited to a few months of the year'.
- B. B. LAL.—*Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem*. Some copper implements discovered in the Gangetic valley, but left unrecorded up to now, are described here. A class of pottery excavated recently at Hastināpura suggests that it might be the product of a culture with which was affiliated the copper hoards. The copper specimens are surmised to have belonged to the ancestors of the proto-Australoid group of tribes who inhabited the Gangetic basin before the arrival of the Aryans.
- V. D. KRISHNASWAMI AND K. V. SOUNDARARAJAN.—*The Lithic Tool-Industries of the Singrauli Basin, District Mirzapur*. The paper deals with the character and age of the palaeolithic and microlithic artefacts collected from the Singrauli basin in Uttar Pradesh.
- A. GHOSH.—*Rajgir 1950*. A minor excavation recently executed at Rajgir has led to the discovery not only of different pottery-types but also of 'a hitherto unknown type of post-cremation burial'. The author of the paper has divided 'the chronological length of the occupation of the city' into four different periods from a time earlier than the fifth century B. C. to the first century A.C.
- T. R. GAIROLA.—*The Weights of the Punch-marked Coins from Barwāni (Madhya Bharat)*.

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. XVII. pt. 3

- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Some Abhidharma Problems*. While elucidating the texts of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-ṭīkā*, Yaśomitra introduces in his *Sphuṭārthā* discussions of philosophical import. Some of the points discussed there are dealt with in the paper under the following heads: The Buddha above Pratyekabuddhas and Śrāvakas; Ether; Two-fold suppression (*nirodha*); Saṃsthāna, Image; Vasubandhu's definition of *avijñāpti* defended; Definition of *Rūpa*; Material nature of *avijñāpti*.
- A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.—*Bhakti and Mukti in the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*.

Ibid. vol. XVII, pt. 4

- A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR.—*Āṅgīrasasmṛiti*. The edition of the *Smṛiti* with Indices and Appendices is completed in this issue of the journal.

Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, vol. IV, no. 12

- A. S. KRISHNAN.—*Tamil Devotional Literature*. An account is presented herein of the vast literature enshrined in Tamil on the cult of Bhakti and mysticism.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 73, no. 3
(July-September, 1953)

- LOUIS RENOU.—*Le Passage des Brāhmaṇa aux Upaniṣad*.

Journal of the Asiatic Society (Science) vol. XIX, no. 1

- JOHANNES GAUSDAL.—*Ancestral and Sacrificial Clans among the Santals*. This account of the clan system of the Santals is based on the existing Santal literature both in Santali and other languages as well as on the information gathered from Santal villages. The *Paris* or Ancestral clans are conscious of the common blood they have inherited through their forefathers. The *Khūts* or Sacrificial clans are proud of the prerogative they possess to deal with forces of the invisible world viz. the Bongas or the hidden and mysterious spirits of the Santali belief.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. IX, pts. 2, 3, 4

- P. K. GODE.—*The Chronology of the Works on Vedānta by Gaṅgādhara Sarasvatī and his Disciple Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī.* Evidence adduced by the writer suggests that the period of one hundred years between A.C. 1650 and 1750 is the probable time when Gaṅgādharendra and Ānandabodhendra composed their works on Vedānta.
- SADHU RAM.—*Bhartṛhari's Date.* Arguments put forward in the paper lead to the conclusion that Bhartṛhari 'cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A.D. and may be even earlier'.
- U. C. SARKAR.—*The Place of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra in the Hindu Legal History.* Dealing with the rights and duties of a sovereign in the actual administration of his subjects, Kauṭilya had to consider the function of the judiciary. Precepts set forth in the *Arthaśāstra* in that connection have a bearing on the development of the legal conception in the later Dharmaśāstra literature.
- RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Pāṇini's Notion of Authoritativeness of the Views of his Predecessors.* Pāṇini has mentioned names of many predecessors and cited older traditions and usages. The views thus referred to in his work appear to have been accepted by him as correct.
- MANORANJAN SHASTRI.—*The Svalpa-matsya-purāṇa.* Since the *Svalpa-matsya-purāṇa* is found quoted in ritualistic works of Kāmarūpa and Bengal dating from the 12th century, the Purāṇa must be earlier by one hundred years at the least. Two manuscripts of this rare work available to the writer have been described in the note, and their contents discussed.
- W. PACHOW AND RAMAKANTA MISHRA.—*The Prātimokṣa Sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas.* The present discourse dealing with the contents of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* forms an Introduction to the text critically edited for the first time from manuscripts found in Tibet.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXI, pt II (August, 1953)

- NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Lord Wellesly and the Provincial Battalions.*

S. BHATTACHARYA.—*The date of Nidhanpur Grant of Bhāskaravarman.* King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa called himself *mahārājādhirāja* in the undated Nidhanpur Grant which was issued from his triumphal camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. The use of this dignified epithet by him in the record militates against the view that Gauḍa kingdom with its capital Karṇasuvarṇa passed into the hands of the Kāmarūpa king before 642 A.C. The title of *mahārājādhirāja* could not certainly be assumed by the king in the region during the life-time of Harṣavardhana, who had become the undisputed sovereign of Northern India. Bhāskaravarman must therefore have occupied Karṇasuvarṇa after Harṣa's death in 646-47 A.C. when he could have issued the charter found at Nidhanpur.

H. GOETZ.—*History of Chamba State in Mughal and Sikh Times.*

DHARMA BHANU.—*Libraries and their Management in Mughal India.*

Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. I, no 4 (January, 1952)

S. K. SARASVATI.—*Temples of Orissa.* Distinctive features of the Orissan temples, specially at Bhuvaneswar, Konark and Puri, are discussed in the paper. The Nāgara style of temple architecture attained remarkable regional development in ancient Kalinga.

S. C. DE.—*Some Antiquities of South Balasore.* Images, temples and some other antiquarian objects found at Kanpur, Olang, Charampa and Palia—all lying near Bhadrak in South Balasore point to the region being a cultural centre for centuries, where Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism have left their mark.

S. N. RAJAGURU.—*The Bāṇatumva Copper-plate Grant of Netṭabhañjadeva of Drumarāja-Kula.* The inscription published here is assigned to the 8th century A.C. on palaeographical grounds.

S. C. DE.—*A Śiva Liṅga inscribed with Buddhist Dhāraṇī from Soro.*

P. ACHARYA.—*The Commemorative Inscription of the Anantavāsudeva Temple at Bhuvaneswar.* The record commemorating the foundation of the temple in 1278 A.C. by the Gaṅga King

Bhānudeva has been re-edited with improvement in readings here and there.

D. C. SIRCAR.—*The Later Somavamśīs.*

SURYA NARAYAN DAS.—*The Votive Inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja Temple of Bhuvaneswar.* The name of the king mentioned in the record is read as Vīra Narakeśarī instead of Vīravarakēśarī, and the king is identified with Narasiṅghadeva I.

Poona Orientalist, vol. XVII, nos. 1-4

SURYA KANTA.—*A Study of Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharana, Aucitya-vicāracarcā and Svṛttatilaka with an English Translation.* Besides presenting an English translation of the three treatises of the great Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra, the article deals with the different aspects of the life and works of the poet, showing his 'eminence as a critic of the theory and practice of poetry.'

Pracyavanī, vol. IX

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Sabbāvinoda of Daivajña Dāmodara, a protégé of King Śrinivāsa Malla of Nepal.* The *Sabbāvinoda* containing in its ten sections useful essentials of various subjects like polity, astrology and medicine was composed by Daivajña Dāmodara between A.C. 1657 and 1685 for the entertainment of the court (*sabbā*) of king Śrinivāsa of Nepal.

HAJIMA NAKAMURA.—*Indian Studies in Japan.*

ROMA CHAUDHURI.—*Position of Women in Medieval India.* Women in medieval India became subject to numerous social disabilities for political reasons. A few of them however continued to follow the high tradition set up in earlier times, and were able to produce works of merit and insight. The evidence of the Smṛti and Kāvya literature as also the actual contributions of women of the period have been taken into consideration in the discussion.

J. B. CHAUDHURI.—*Muslim Poetesses of India.* *Vīrabhadracampū of Padmanābha Miśra.* The Sanskrit text of the Campū edited here with an Introduction describes the exploits of king Vīrabhadra who ruled in Rewa in the 16th century.

सरस्वतीसुषमा

(Sanskrit Quarterly of the Banaras Sanskrit College)

vol. VII, no. 1

YUDHISHTHIR MIMAMSAK.—भागवृत्तिसंकलनम्. Citations from the *Bhāgavṛtti*, a lost treatise on the Pāṇinian system of grammar, have been compiled from twenty-six different works, grammatical and lexical in character.

ANANTA SASTRI PHADKE.—बार्हस्पत्यम्. References to Br̥haspati in Vedic literature are shown to contain an objective description of the planet Jupiter. The Purāṇic legends that have gathered round the name of Br̥haspati are all said to have only a symbolical significance.

SUBHADRA JHA AND VRAJAVALLABH DVIVED.—राखमंहिताभाष्यसंग्रहः. Ānandabodhabhaṭṭopādhyāya's commentary on the *Kaṇvasambhita* of the Vājasaneyā Yajurveda edited in this instalment covers the portion of the text from 33, 45 to 35, 14.

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